

The Leader.

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—HUMBOLDT'S COSMOS.

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News of the Week.

As to news political, this week may be said to be chewing the cud of last week; for the events which are most interesting to the reader, such as the victory of the yacht America, or Albert Smith's overcoming of Mont Blanc, are not of the political order.

Last week, indeed, had matter to spare. The ferment created by the Catholic Defence Association has not subsided, but grows with time. The absence of any obvious resistance from Government makes the Roman Catholics bolder and bolder; they challenge prosecution with an audacity that may be regarded as the measure of the Government fear to enforce the Anti-Papal Act. The organ of the Ultramontane party declares the contest to be one "between Heaven and Hell." The English Bishops of Hexham and Birmingham are not behind their brethren of Ireland in daring the enforcement of the law—a step which will become embarrassing in proportion as it is delayed. Ministers, indeed, might proceed by a process of decimation; but even that would be difficult, where the ringleaders are in themselves a multitude, and selection would be a most invidious confession of cowardice. The Roman Catholics perceive the advantage which has been given to them, and they do not scruple to use it unmercifully.

The letter from M. Ronge, in our Open Council, confirms us in the view, that a state resistance to the "Papal Aggression" on Anti-Catholic grounds, was the very worst form in which to combat the progress of Romanism. It will be seen that Romanism is advancing on the Continent under cover of Absolutism; that the Absolutists of Germany are resorting to religious coercion; and that the only hope for freedom of conscience lies in a real freedom of doctrine. Under the pretext of resisting the Pope, our Government is giving its sanction to the system of coercing doctrine and repressing the development of religious forms. This is not the way to secure religious liberty—when we justify the tyrant in his courses by emulating them, and so help to keep down that very movement which would eventually overwhelm him. Let us all unite to obtain perfect freedom of opinion in religion, thorough separation of temporal administration from religious authority, and we supersede the Papal question in England by superseding it in the whole of Europe. The New Catholics of Germany, the Religious Reformers of Italy, the upholders of religious liberty in England, have all a common object, as they have also, very generally, broad truths in which they all concur. Let the reader watch the passing news of the day, and see how it confirms this position. Above all, for this week, we recommend him to read M. Ronge's letter.

The confusion goes on at railway meetings. This [TOWN EDITION.]

week we have Mr. Evelyn Denison following up Mr. Glyn, and confessing how the competition with the great rivals is very damaging to the Great Northern, but holding out little hope of coming to an agreement. According to the light furnished by these confessions of railway Directors, the public is able to observe the destructive effects of competition, on one of the most important branches of the national commerce.

Meanwhile, our readers will see how the principle of Association is continuing to gain ground on all sides. Almost every week we have to welcome some new adherent, such as the *Wolverhampton Herald*, which handles the subject so as to prove a real understanding of it; and it is want of space alone which prevents our publishing in our present number papers already prepared, showing the progress on the Continent and in America.

Continental politics have been a dead calm during the past week. In France the *Conseils généraux* have met, and are voting "revision" with laudable facility. But that the ignorant enthusiasm for the name of the nephew of Napoleon has abated, in proportion as his mere incapacity has had time and room for exercise, the result of the votes of the *Conseils d'Arrondissement* in favour of the prorogation sufficiently proves. Only 140 out of 364 have obeyed the impulsion of the Préfets.

The trials at Lyons have dragged their tedious length along, relieved by the self-contradictory reports of the police agents, and plentifully garnished by anonymous personal imputations more or less disgusting, not merely in themselves but as a caricature of justice.

The divisions of the Royalists are breaking out afresh, at every attempt to disguise the ambitions of pretenders under the cloak of patriotism. The Berryer section, who are content to dally with the Bonapartists for a season, and the more romantic followers of De Larochefajuelin, are irreconcilable. Meanwhile, the more hasty partisans of M. de Joinville are refreshing the seaports with anecdotes of the young hero of Tangiers and Mogador! The Prince Admiral is a sort of outsider to the rest of his family; for it cannot be supposed that the Comte de Paris, the heir to the Throne of the Barricades, would ever put up with the *fautail* of a Republic. This young gentleman is waiting "to be of age." France will "keep" of course.

As to '52, the law of the 31st of May is the key of the situation; and it must either be peacefully unlocked, picked, or forced.

The Royal Progresses in Germany have been distinguished by the *silence* of the population. "The silence of the People is the lesson of Kings." "Prussia" has committed himself, in his usual high-flown and mountebank strain, to a most unguarded rebuke of his Rhenish subjects for their liberal tendencies. He has clearly forgotten the very rudiments of a constitutional education; or, perhaps, the "draughts of Rhenish" were too strong for the sincere bad faith of the man who

deems his subjects as prone to bow the knee to Frederick as Frederick to Nicholas.

The utter rottenness of Austrian Finance is now beyond all cure and concealment. We recommend the loan to the attention of Mr. Cobden. The young Emperor's birth-day has been celebrated by the garrison at Milan and elsewhere in Austrian Italy, with severe injunctions to the natives to be merry on the occasion. All the windows were open by order, and not a soul was to be seen in any balcony. The party of Order are indeed all things to all men. Radetzky darkly hints at a repetition of the Gallician massacres in Lombardy to bring the rich to their senses, and, in behalf of property, preaches spoliation and murder to the peasantry.

The Reign of Terror increases in violence at Naples. Mr. Gladstone's pamphlets, wafted on the four winds of European publicity, have stung King Homicide to madness. He has just brought the prisoners in the affair of the 15th of May into court. All their materials for defence were previously taken away from them; so that even the mockery of a trial is spared them, and they have only to be sentenced. One of the accused is a paralyzed priest, aged 97, who is charged with having been seen with his drawn sword "*furiously driving*" the people to the barricades.

The Pope is uneasy in the midst of French bayonets, and negotiations for replacing them by the Swiss from Naples are still believed to be in progress.

The occasional assassination of some minister of priestly and royal terrorism, throws a lurid light on the literally infernal condition of this beautiful country. The murderers elude all discovery: and so crime begets crime.

From the borders of civilization come reports of characteristic movements. In Cuba the insurrection languishes, if it has not been suppressed. The people of the United States are again playing their peculiar game: a contingent of 1500 was passing over from New Orleans and two other ports, to be under the orders of General Lopez; and one body of 250 men had landed in Cuba; but the Government at Washington had sent a naval force to intercept the rest.

Judge Lynch is busy at California protecting the gold and heres of the luck-hunting population. The regular law is too slow, too nice, and too feeble for the rough work of a region where the vices of the old countries meet and combine with the recklessness of the youngest; and the regular judge sits by as an amateur while the mob administers the law of the imaginary Judge Lynch.

In China the anti-Tatar rebellion seems to be gaining ground; while in India the Nizam has had a reprieve, and is going to try to raise the money for his big creditor, the English Government.

The completion of the means of transit between distant parts of the globe bids fair to make rapid

strides within a very short time. Asa Whitney's gigantic plan for a line of rail across the American Continent was one of the most notable projects brought out this season. Even this, vast though it be, is rivalled in grandeur by a proposal in circulation, to make a direct London and Calcutta railway, and to perform the journey in seven days without stoppages. The route would be from Ostend to Orsova on the Turkish frontier; thence to Constantinople; onwards, by the valley of the Euphrates, to Bussorah, and thence by the Persian Gulf to Bombay, whence the lines now in progress would lead on to Calcutta: the whole transit from London to Calcutta occupying only twelve days. Men of experience regard this as a feasible project, and certain portions of the route are actually decided on. It is not long since the present "overland route" to India was but a project, not counted among the most practicable.

Beside the projected great Indian route, we have to signalize another, which, though less grand in its proportions, is of great importance. The Yankees have completed the communication with the Pacific via the Lake of Nicaragua, and a direct line of steamers now plies on both oceans, between San Francisco and San Juan del Sud in the Pacific, and San Juan of Nicaragua and New York on the Atlantic. This route vastly reduces the time of transit from the capital of California to the Empire City. But it will still take ten days longer to reach San Francisco from New York than it will to reach Calcutta from London if the new project be realized.

Among the pleasanter signs of good feeling is the sort of interest created in this country by the victory of the yacht America. It is blazoned in the papers; it is spoken of in society with delight; it is discussed by professional men with the frankest expression of pleasure, which could scarcely be excelled if it were an English vessel. There is a sense of having made an advance in experimental ship-building, which both countries will share; and the feeling of brotherly participation is complete. As to the individual pride of Commodore Stevens, it is so natural and frank that we all sympathize with it. The story of his achievements—his picturesque delays, his wonderful overtakings—read like a chapter in one of Cooper's novels.

The spirit of adventure takes a swing on the very sea-saw of frolic and sublimity, with Mont Blanc for the fulcrum of the sea-saw, in Mr. Floyd's account of the descent. Three Oxfordmen and the Homer of fastmen, Albert Smith, wandering bravely among large icebergs and silent desolation, under the deep blue sky—venting their transports in cigars, champagne, and chickens—reveling in royal salutes—enjoying an ovation at an "altar" furnished in more than Anglican parade with lighted candles (O Dr. Bloomfield!) and champagne—parting from their guides almost with tears—form a romance that might make a casino grave, might make an Exeter Synod laugh, and might remind us all that the humorous and the sublime are not, after all, so far apart as the common sarcasm about their proximity implies. It is with very earnest satisfaction that we hear of Albert Smith's safe return to his own metropolis.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

The French Liberal Press have elaborately analysed the pamphlets of Mr. Gladstone, and in some cases have reproduced their most striking passages; re-echoing the contempt so universally felt in London for the roving pamphleteer who does the insolent lackey to the blood-thirsty Bomba, after having vainly sought to intimidate the Turkish Vizier with the "Dilutions of a discontented Dragoman." The Turin journals have almost translated them entire, with additional revelations. In Tuscany, not a single word of Mr. Gladstone is allowed to pierce through the Austrian surveillance.

An English gentleman is said to have been arrested at Florence in the act of reading the Bible. We are sorry that his name is "Walker," as it tends to throw doubt upon a fact so hateful to Protestant ears. Even in France, however, Protestantism is morally persecuted by official Catholic catechisms, holding up Protestant ministers to ridicule and odium, as immoral, prolific, and avaricious.

The tendencies which these and similar facts discover are obvious enough to all who prize liberty of thought and of conscience.

For a glance at the doings of paternal government take the following:—Since the return of the Duke of Satrano to the Vice-Government of Sicily fifteen hundred persons have been shot on political suspicion, or on the accusation of spies.

The Austrian Commandant at Imola has forbidden ladies to wear bonnets or caps with red or blue ribbons, under penalty of the Christian form of bastinado. Will this make sympathizers of our wives and daughters? They have only to enrol their names among the "Friends of Italy": the society being open to "strength and beauty."

Since the proclamation of martial law, the courts martial in the Lombardo-Venetian provinces have pronounced 3782 sentences to death.

Berlin correspondence of a recent date states that the French Government have come to an understanding, in concert with the Cabinets of Berlin and St. Petersburg, to make strong representations against the reported determination of the Porte to release the Hungarian captives on the first of September. Bathyan's life is despaired of at Hutayeh.

We read in the *Indépendance Belge* that M. de Bocrmé, uncle to the late Count de Bocrmé, who was lately executed for murder, has been reelected to his seat in the Belgian Chamber with scarcely a dissentient vote. He had resigned his seat in consequence of his nephew's condemnation. In his address to the electors he thanks them for having vindicated the isolation of crime.

CATHOLIC DEFENCE.

"Defenders," the name of the new Irish Party, it seems likely, will go down to critical posterity as famous as Whiteboy, Ribbonman, Repealer. Lord John Russell's conjurations have roused the old devil which arrests all progress in Ireland. "For the religion of our fathers," is again the cry of myriads; for our priests, our altars, and our freedom. The *Tablet* has followed up the "Aggregate Meeting" with some articles really terrible for the Whigs; terrible, because so rigidly calm, being written apparently at the white heat of indignation. Last Saturday's number of the Journal contains one long article, ostentatiously demonstrating how the priests and laymen, how the preludes and the climax of the meeting have broken the law; broken it knowingly and deliberately. And it continues:—

"We don't dare the Government to prosecute. We don't ask them not to prosecute. We only state the plain and undeniable conclusion, that if they do not prosecute, then, after a tedious and protracted campaign in which, with the exception of the Almighty Ruler of the universe, every element of strength was on the side of our enemies, they will have been made to sustain a most ignominious defeat, will have failed to carry out the smallest portion of their own project, will have endured a very effective application of the cudgel, will have eaten their leek with many wry faces but with edifying docility, and will have taken mighty pains and undergone deep humiliation merely to register a great and signal triumph of truth, the Pope, and the Almighty, over their own besotted fanaticism. In one word, it is the pleasing result of the aggregate meeting that, besides laying the foundation of better things to come, the most Reverend Dr. Cullen, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, has driven his primatial carriage and six stately steeds clean through the imaginary barrier raised by the six months' labour of Lord John Russell and his fellow-operatives."

But another paper is still more aggressive. The question at issue is said to be one between "Heaven and hell," and in avowed hostility to the act of Parliament. The writer enumerates the Roman Catholic bishops by their styles and titles "which have been bestowed upon them by the Church of God":—

"On the other hand, it is equally certain (as we have elsewhere intimated) that a certain Mr. Sumner is not even a doctor of divinity, much less a priest, a bishop, or an archbishop. It is not true, therefore, to call this man Archbishop of Canterbury, or even Dr. Sumner. It is even doubtful whether he has been made a Christian by baptism; but, as this is confessedly a doubt, we will give this estimable gentleman the benefit of the doubt, and take his Christianity for granted. What, under that charitable assumption, we may call his Christian names are 'John Bird.' As he is a member of the Privy Council, this civil status entitles him to the prefix 'Right Honourable,' and his true name and title, written at length, are 'The Right Honourable John Bird Sumner.' In ordinary parlance, such a person would be called 'Mr. Sumner,' and as accuracy is everything now we have a theological Parliament, the only designation by which henceforward that ambiguous Christian whom the Protestants heretically call Archbishop of Canterbury, will be known in this Journal is plain 'Mr. Sumner.' If on any occasion we may desire to express his function, we certainly shall not call him bishop—for to that appellation he has no more claim (speaking reverently) than a poodle dog or a pet spaniel dog of King Charles's breed. He is not a bishop certainly; but by the nature of the office conferred on him by act of Parliament he may without usurpation assume to be a superintendent."

And he finally deduces what he is pleased to call the full title of the Archbishop of Canterbury—"Mr. Sumner, Statutory Superintendent of Protestants in the Canterbury District;" and advises that the like appellations be given to all the bishops of the Irish Established Church.

As to the "Defence Association," the rent for the week ending Saturday last amounted to £244 13s. 6d. The *Nation* condemns the idea of a weekly meeting association and a weekly platform for "Dr. Cagliostro and Senator Therites." Lord Shrewsbury, from Palermo, sends £10 and his adhesion to the association.

The Reverend G. A. Denison, a member of the very High Church party, has published a pamphlet entitled, *Why should the Bishops continue to sit in the House of Lords?* The following are the propositions which he proceeds to work out:—1. The main propositions to be proved are in brief—1. That the Church of England, as a Church, has only a limited hold upon her members, whether clergy or people. 2. That her principal hold upon her members depends partly upon a false view of her office and essential character, and partly upon her accidents. 3. That the position of the clergy being, in many respects, secular and unreal, is one principal hindrance to the more just and extended appreciation of the office and essential character of the Church. 4. That in particular, the position of the bishops as Peers of Parliament is secular and unreal.

THE LATE ASCENT OF MONT BLANC.

An ascent of the Alpine King is an unusual event, and must always be of interest. Three "Oxford men," by name Philip and Sackville West and C. G. Floyd, members of one of those pleasant bands called "reading parties," were one day rowing on the Lake of Geneva, when they saw the gleaming summit of Mont Blanc, and resolved to start off for Chamouni, and ascend that mountain throne. Arrived there they had to wait some time for a fine day, and were just departing when the weather cleared up, and they completed the necessary preparations for the task. A capital account by Mr. Floyd has appeared in the *Times*:—

"Chamouni was all in a bustle to see us off. The weather continued fine, and, as a crowning subject of congratulation, Albert Smith, the author, joined our party for the ascent; and to him we owe a great deal of the vast amount of pleasure that we enjoyed. Having left our directions to our several homes behind us, we were at last off. It was half-past seven o'clock when our party of four amateurs, sixteen guides, and several porters and volunteers, having 'assisted' at a breakfast laid out in the court of the hotel, started, and really it was a fine sight, the people of the hotel showing every imaginable civility—the peasants wishing us bon voyage—and our guides (splendid fellows) leading the way with their long poles and various equipments. Having passed the village and its immediate environs, we commenced a steep rocky ascent parallel with the Glacier des Boissons. The guides now commenced picking up sticks for our fire at the Grands Mulets, which, you know, is the rock on which we should have to sleep. Still pursuing the same course, we came to the Echelle, so called from a ladder always being kept there to cross the crevices. Here we halted to breakfast, and to prepare for our more arduous task. Having devoured several chickens, which we mangled with our fingers, according to our wants, and 'polished off' some excellent Burgundy, we started afresh, and went on ascending to the point from which we crossed the glaciers; but this part of our journey cannot really be described:—The tremendous masses of green ice—the awful crevices—the sky, from no darker contrast than the snow, looking a deep blue—the long file of travellers, all tied with a rope together—all made it a most impressive sight, which I am glad to say I could perfectly enjoy, not feeling in any degree tired. Some of the crevices we crossed by a ladder being thrown across them, and walking on the crossbars; some we crossed on little bridges of frozen snow, and one was a very peculiar one—the ladder had to be placed nearly perpendicularly from the lower part on which we stood, resting on a huge wall of ice, separated from us by a tremendous crevice, so that, mounting on the ladder, you looked down into an endless depth below you, and, as the ladder was not long enough to surmount the wall, steps were cut from its top into the ice with a hatchet. By walking in this kind of way till four o'clock, we reached the Grands Mulets, where we had to stop the night, or rather a few hours between that time and twelve o'clock at night. All the time glasses had been directed towards us from Chamouni, and on placing our feet on the rock we were saluted by guns below, which fired to announce our arrival thus far."

At the Grands Mulets they dined "all in high spirits," singing songs and telling stories in uncommonly quick succession; "of course chiefly started by Albert Smith," whom Mr. Floyd declares to be a "tremendous brick." When this jovial feed was over, they made arrangements for the night. The sun was setting. Mr. Floyd describes what he calls the "imposing process of sunset up there":—

"Fancy yourself on a rock descending nearly perpendicularly; sitting on a ledge; snow above and snow below; the shades gathering, the light turning from gold to purple, from purple to blue, from blue to green, to lilac, grey; in fact, to all colours the sky can assume, the solemn silence only interrupted by occasional avalanches booming behind us; the wide prospect of country;—fancy all this, and you can have not even an idea, not the faintest conception, of the really awful grandeur of the scene."

Refreshed by three hours' sound slumber, though the others of the party slept not all, Mr. Floyd and his friends started off. He describes their midnight walk as one of the most unearthly he had ever seen. There were tremendous crevices, too wide to cross, overhanging masses of snow, the moon above them "looking awfully cold," and all the way up a very steep path. At the Grand Plateau the morning dawned, the moon paled, the sky reddened, and the atmosphere was so rare that Mr. Floyd "felt an op-

pressive tightness at the top of his head," which, however, went off. He speaks of his course as zigzag, but will not attempt to describe it. He then says:—

"One place I shall never forget. A large square mass of snow,—which I saw the least considerably enlarged my ideas, though not sufficiently so to enable me to realize its massiveness,—about as large as a hundred of the largest houses I ever saw (as it appeared), leant over our way; to give you a little idea of its size, if it had fallen it would have completely covered the whole of our single file, consisting of about thirty-eight people, one behind the other at some distance, attached by ropes to each other. As I was regarding it in utter astonishment, my guide touched me, and pointing to a crevasse between it and us whispered, 'There three guides were lost the year before last,' and I heard a guide say to my friend behind, 'Here it was I lost my father.' You may imagine how all this tended to add the intensest solemnity to the scene; and, if anything was wanted to increase it, it was found in the advice of my guides not to speak, for fear of bringing down an avalanche, though this I suspect is humbug."

When the sun rose they put on their blue and green spectacles. On reaching Route Rouge, Albert Smith is reported as "perfectly done up," and having to be "dragged the rest of the way":—

"Passing round the Route Rouge the dome of Mont Blanc, which is as regular as St. Paul's, came in sight, and I felt as if I could have climbed him were he twice as far off. The whole of our steps were now cut with a hatchet in the ice, and the being tied together was of the greatest use, having saved each of our lives about three times, for if you slipped you were immediately held up and saved from going down into some yawning crevice. At nine o'clock in the morning we stepped on the top, and you must endeavour to conceive the thrill of delight,—shaking hands all round, congratulating each other, opening champagne bottles, lighting cigars, pulling chickens to pieces, and all the effects of the wildest transport. Having partly recovered from this I proceeded to examine the view, of which I shall only say it had the appearance of a large sea, of which the waves were mountain tops, far, far below me, each mountain like a small wave, and yet each mountain one of the highest in Europe. I shall wait till I can talk to you to give you some of my impressions. I thought of you all at home just sitting down to breakfast, and how little you thought where my mother's son was at that time."

On the summit they remained about twenty-five minutes, and then commenced a rapid and successful descent, enjoying the "splendid fun" of sliding down, Mr. Floyd being sure he "never went so fast, even on a railway":—

"Some ladies who watched us with the glasses from Chamouni quite gave us up for lost, saying, that they saw little dots falling with tremendous velocity down the precipices, which must have been the effect produced, for in ascending the glasses could not perceive any progress in our dots. This will give you some idea of our speed."

"In descending the guides pulled up to look at a very remarkable sight, through a tremendous wall of ice, which seemed to end in the sky; a large natural arch had formed itself in the bluest crystal, through which you looked down a seemingly interminable depth of valleys till your eye lost itself in the distance. This struck me as much as anything, particularly as the arch through which you caught the view was comparatively of very small span, or rather as small as things are up in those regions where you lose all idea of comparison."

The vivacious epistle and the enterprise close in a spirit worthy of the achievements:—

"The news of a party having ascended Mont Blanc brought hundreds of people to Chamouni, and, sadly against our will, we were forced to enter on mules in triumph (as Mr. Albert Smith remarked, 'We are once more on the Grands Mulets'). You may imagine the enthusiasm when I tell you that directly we came in sight cannons were fired in a manner regardless of expense. If we entered a wood we were sure to be saluted directly we came in sight; again, if we turned a corner, ditto; and two nice girls, otherwise shy, rushed frantically and seized both my hands; all the streets of Chamouni were crowded, bands of music, fireworks, cannons, all going off at once; and, having arrived at the hotel-court, we saw a regular little altar prepared with candles, flowers, and champagne, which the master of the hotel made us drink—to be looked at—when I was uncommonly glad to escape and get into a bath and proceed to dinner. Next morning I left Chamouni, and really almost cried whilst shaking hands all round with the guides—splendid fellows, with whom I could go anywhere."

On the same day, but somewhat later, Mr. Van-sittart ascended to the summit. He was blind for two days on his return, but after that he perfectly recovered his eyesight.

THE YANKEE YACHT VICTORIOUS!

Six months ago that man would have been laughed at as insane, who should have predicted that the Americans would beat Old England in yacht-racing. Yet the deed has been done. England has been beaten in her own seas, in the sight of the Court and the Queen, in sight of the largest number of yachts of all tonnage, of steamers and boats, and beaches crowded with spectators, ever beheld, and beaten by a "Yankee"!

"In the memory of man," says an eye witness, "Coves never presented such an appearance as upon Friday [the 22nd]. There must have been upwards of 100 yachts lying at anchor in the roads; the beach was crowded from Egypt to the piers—the esplanade in front

of the Club thronged with ladies and gentlemen, and with the people inland, who came over in shoals with wives, sons, and daughters for the day. Booths were erected all along the quay, and the roadstead was alive with boats, while from sea and shore arose an incessant buzz of voices mingled with the splashing of oars, the flapping of sails, and the hissing of steam, from the excursion vessels preparing to accompany the race. Flags floated from the beautiful villas which stud the wooded coast, and ensign and burgee, rich with the colours of the various clubs or the devices of the yachts, flickered gaily out in the soft morning air. The windows of the houses which commanded the harbour were filled from the parlour to the attic, and the old 'salts' on the beach gazed moodily on the low black hull of 'the Yankee,' and spoke doubtfully of the chances of her competitors. Some thought 'the Volante' might prove a teaser if the wind was light; others speculated on 'the Alarm' doing mischief if there was wind enough to bring out the qualities of the large cutter in beating up to windward and in tacking; while more were of opinion that the America would carry off the cup, 'blow high, blow low.' It was with the greatest difficulty the little town gave space enough to the multitudes that came from all quarters to witness an event so novel and so interesting, and the hotels were quite inadequate to meet the demands of their guests."

The race to come off was for the £100 cup; the "course" round the "Wight." Fifteen yachts, a larger number than ever known before, started for the prize—not so much for the cup as for the honour of beating the New Yorker.

It was a warm morning, the mist which hung over the fields and woods had cleared away, and at ten o'clock the signal to start was fired. This operation was splendidly effected. The competing vessels breaking away like a field of racehorses. The America alone was behindhand. First went the Gipsy Queen, with all her canvas set, followed by the Beatrice, Volante, Constance, and Arrow. But in a short time the America, creeping up, passed the Constance and Beatrice, and the Volante coming up in a light wind headed the whole fleet.

"As the glorious pageant passed under Osborne-house the sight was surpassingly fine," says the spectator we have before quoted. "The whole expanse of sea from shore to shore being filled as it were with a countless fleet, while the dark hull of the Vengeance, 84, in the distance at Spithead, towered in fine relief above the tiny little craft that danced around her—the green hills of Hampshire, the white batteries of Portsmouth, and the picturesque coast of Wight, formed a fine framework for the picture."

At half-past ten the Gipsy Queen ran past the Volante; and a quarter of an hour later the America outstripped the Arrow, Constance, and Alarm, but could not shake off the Volante, nor come up to the Gipsy Queen. The run from Sandheads to Noman's Land Bay was well contested, and very exciting. Off the latter place the yachts were timed, and they passed as follows:—"Volante, Freak, Aurora, Gipsy Queen, America—the America being a quarter of an hour behind the Volante."

"At this point the wind blew somewhat more steadily, and the America began to show a touch of her quality. Whenever the breeze took the line of her hull, all her sails set as flat as a drumhead, and without any creaking or staggering, she 'walked along,' past cutter and schooner, and, when off Brading, had left every vessel in the squadron behind her—a mere ruck—with the exception of the Volante, which she overtook at 11.30, when she very quietly hauled down her jib, as much as to say she would give her rival every odds, and laid herself out for the race round the back of the island. The weather showed symptoms of improvement, so far as yachting was concerned; a few seashores waved their crests over the water, the high lands on shore put on their fleecy 'night-caps' of cloud, and the horizon looked delightfully threatening; and now 'the Yankee' flew like the wind, leaping over, not against, the water, and increasing her distance from the Gipsy Queen, Volante, and Alarm every instant. The way her sails were set evinced a superiority in the cutting which our makers would barely allow; but, certain it is, that while the jibs and mainsails of her antagonists were 'bellied out,' her canvas was as flat as a sheet of paper. No foam, but rather a water-jet, rose from her bows; and the greatest point of resistance—for resistance there must be somewhere—seemed about the beam, or just forward of her mainmast, for the seas flashed off from her sides at that point every time she met them. While the cutters were thrashing through the water, sending the spray over their bows, and the schooners were wet up to the foot of the foremast, the America was as dry as a bone. She had twenty-one persons on her deck, consisting of the owners, the crew, cook, and steward, a Cowes pilot named Underwood, and some seamen who had been lent her by the Surprise, a London-built schooner yacht, now at Cowes Roads. They nearly all sat aft, and when the vessel did not require any handling crouched down on the deck by the weather bulwarks. The Gipsy Queen, when a little past Brading, seemed to have carried away her fore-sail sheets, but even had it not been so, she had lost all chance of success."

As the wind freshened the America continued to rush before it at a tremendous pace. When she was off the Culver cliffs the nearest yacht was at least two miles astern. She gained at every tack; when under Dunnose about half-past twelve, her jib-boom broke, and she lost a quarter of an hour in gathering up the wreck. But when this was repaired she took advantage of every puff of wind or steady breeze, and

spanked along, tacking with great velocity. Meanwhile several yachts had gone back to Cowes; the little Arrow had got upon the rocks, east of Mill bay, and had to be hauled off by a steamer, in a hopeless condition; the Freak had fouled the Volante, and disabled her. At half-past three the America was flying past St. Lawrence towards Old Castle, while the Bacchante and Eclipse were about two and a half miles to leeward. But as the America passed round Rocken-end the persons on board the steamers were astonished to see a dashing cutter, with foresail and jib, bowling away for her life before the wind. Was it the Aurora? Not exactly. It turned out to be the Wildfire, Mr. J. Thyme, a light craft from Cork, running on her own account. When descried she was quite two and a half miles ahead of the America, yet the latter bore down upon and passed her after a stern chase of an hour. At Alum bay, on board the Victoria and Albert, there were the Queen, the Prince, and the royal family, in a state of such anxious expectation that the Fairy was sent off for tidings of the race, and Prince Albert and his eldest son landed to mount the cliffs, but not liking the wet they returned on board. As the America passed the steamers, running before a dead wind with foresail and forestaysail, they weighed and accompanied her, giving at the same time three cheers. On passing the royal party, Commodore Stevens and his men uncovered, and lowered the ensign. Thence the race was up; the wind was very light, and the America did not arrive at the winning flag until thirty-seven minutes past eight. The Aurora which had stepped up very rapidly in consequence of her light tonnage and a breath of wind, arrived at a quarter to nine, the Bacchante at half-past nine, the Eclipse at a quarter to ten, and the Brilliant at twenty minutes past ten next morning. The cup was the same evening presented to the owners of the yacht. The next evening she was taken down to Osborne, as the Queen wished to inspect her; and her Majesty went on board and was saluted with the customary formality of lowering the colours. The Queen is said to have been delighted with the America.

The challenge match between the America and the Titania has ended in the complete defeat of the latter. The America was undocked at Portsmouth dockyard at half past nine on Wednesday night, and went out of that harbour at half past five on Thursday morning, and at ten a.m. she started from Cowes, and ran down to the Nab, which she left at eleven, in competition with the Titania iron schooner, 100 tons, the property of Mr. R. Stephenson, M.P., for a race forty miles out and forty miles in. They started steering south-east, with a strong wind from west-north-west. At five o'clock the America returned in sight from Portsmouth, when about ten miles outside the Nab, but nothing could be seen of the Titania at that time. Finally, the America completed her course, and won by a long distance.

TRANSATLANTIC MAILS.

By the arrival of the Niagara on the 24th and the Pacific on the 27th, we have papers from the United States bringing intelligence also from Cuba, California, and the Isthmus.

With respect to Cuba the accounts are still conflicting. That the Creole population is much disaffected is clear; but that the insurgents of Puerto del Principe have gained any advantages over the troops is not at all clear. The only new fact is that a meeting has been held at New Orleans in favour of the Cuban insurrection, and a considerable subscription made to promote it. Two steamers, with 1000 men, have sailed under Lopez; 250 men have sailed from near Savannah, and the same from Mobile; the former anchored in Los Mimbros Roads on the 1st of August, and sailed on the following morning, intending, as it was supposed, to effect a landing in the Bay of Nuevitas—a harbour on the north coast of Cuba, not far distant from Puerto del Principe. The United States Government have sent a war steamer to the coast of Cuba; and a Spanish squadron had sailed from Havannah to intercept Lopez.

Some idea of the state of feeling in the Southern States may be gathered from the following letter written by a young Englishman at New Orleans, of the date July 28, and published in the Times:—

"I write now, in the midst of all kinds of disturbances, having converted my office into the head-quarters of a military company, of which I have been commissioned first lieutenant. A corporal, sergeant, and the captain are arguing in one corner about some of the minutiae of the drill, and on my immediate right hand two privates are practising the musket manual with brooms for guns, as I refused to permit arms to be used except on actual parade. I have acted as recruiting-officer for three days, and have almost filled up the company with recruits, among whom I am tolerably popular, as I refused admission to sixteen different men who could produce no certificates of citizenship and good character. I wish you could see me in uniform, with a sword, sash, knife, and pistols on; I assure you I look terribly savage, with the aid of a most ferocious-looking mustache. After all this, I need not inform you that I am hourly expecting to receive orders to embark with our detachment for the island of Cuba, where we will assist the patriots and drive the Spaniards out of the place, or else get killed

ourselves. I know it is very probable that you will disapprove of the attempt; but I am good enough Republican to feel convinced that, when a people are tyrannized over and oppressed, as the Cubans have been, they have a perfect right to revolutionize the Government and appoint officers who will represent the popular will; ergo, I do not argue the point with you, but simply say I am willing to devote my blood and life, if necessary, in aiding the gallant patriots in their glorious efforts.

"The American Government will make no effectual exertions to prevent us reaching the scene of action, and General Lopez, with his staff, is actively pushing matters ahead in this city, without let or hindrance. I had an interview with the old general a few days ago, and he complimented me very highly on my exertions with my pen, and in other ways, to aid the cause we are embarked in; and, before I left, I received an implied promise that, if I preferred to be on the general's staff, an exchange should be effected. As to the pay, the terms are good enough if we win, and, if we lose, it won't matter what they are. Ninety dollars per month, and a bounty of 10,000 dollars to be paid at the end of the war, is what I shall receive if we are ever paid—a fact which I deem somewhat problematical; but so long as the island is made free, and the soldiers are decently fed and clothed, I shall be satisfied, and will readily resign my commission, and return to civil life again when the war is concluded."

The first trip has been made successfully from the Pacific to the Atlantic via the Lake of Nicaragua. The Pacific left San Francisco on the 14th of July, and arrived at San Juan del Sud on the Pacific on the 29th. A mule journey of eighteen miles conducted the party to Révoes, and thence the Director steamer carried them through the Lake of Nicaragua to the Rapids, where the small iron steamer Sir Henry Bulwer awaited them. Thence they passed down a "most romantic river" fringed with lemon, orange, and banana trees, and fragrant with the perfume of flowers to the steam-ship Prometheus at San Juan on the Atlantic. The running time of the passage across the Isthmus was only thirty-four hours and a half. From San Juan the Prometheus started with 360 passengers, and reached New York on the 12th. The whole transit from San Francisco to New York occupied as nearly as possible twenty-nine days. Great praise is due to the American Company who have cut out this short route, and established upon it the fastest line of steamers on the Atlantic. The *Times* City article comments as follows:—

"Thus, within thirty months of the time when the question of Nicaragua first became generally discussed, the American company have entered into and secured a contract with that state, have gained the advantage of a protective treaty between Great Britain and the United States, have established a line of the fastest steamers both on the Atlantic and Pacific, have completed a survey which shows that the difficulties which for 300 years have frightened the world from attempting a junction of the oceans were absolutely fabulous, have carried 200 passengers in a few hours down a river which was represented as almost impracticable from shoals and rapids even for Indian canoes, have removed all the uncertainties and terrors that rendered the Isthmus the great stumbling-block of a safe and cheap passage to Australia, have brought California a week or ten days nearer to New York, and have secured for themselves the monopoly of a traffic which is the most marvellous that has ever been known, and the disposal of fertile lands and trading stations and natural docks that promise ultimately to receive the commerce of the world."

SPECIMENS OF "LYNCH."

Certainly Lynch, not Law, reigns in San Francisco. The New York papers, with Californian news up to the 14th of July, have some startling intelligence. The *Herald* contains the following:—

"The authority of the Courts has been disregarded, the executors of the law set at defiance, and the Vigilance Committee of San Francisco, composed of some 800 or 900 respectable citizens, have accomplished more good in the detection of crime than could have been accomplished by the police in a lifetime. My last gave an account of the hanging at midnight of a man named Jenkins, by the Vigilance Committee, for stealing 200 dollars. A similar scene was witnessed on the 12th inst. A man named Jim Stewart, a Sydney convict, the leader of a gang of desperadoes, was arrested for robbing a house; and notwithstanding the officers of the law attempted to get possession of him, he was tried, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged the same day. The signal bell was sounded, and the populace rushed by hundreds to the building of the committee. At the hour appointed for the execution Stewart was brought out strongly pinioned, and guarded by about 500 members of the committee, walking eight abreast, each armed with a revolver, taken to one of the public wharfs, followed by thousands, a rope adjusted to a crane erected for hoisting goods, and swung between heaven and earth in full view of the assembled multitude. So solemn was the scene that each head of that immense throng was involuntarily uncovered. No attempt was made to rescue him, nor was there any other feeling than that of entire concurrence. The execution took place at two o'clock in the afternoon. Previous to paying the forfeit of his crime Stewart made a full confession of his crimes. The details establish the fact that he was the leader of the most desperate gang of villains that has ever preyed upon a community."

San Francisco is not, however, the only place in which the "practice" of the renowned Judge finds followers. Sonora is equally prompt:—

"A man named David Hill, alias Jim Hill, was arrested for stealing a horse, tried, and although subsequently rescued by Sheriff Works, was forcibly taken from him by the populace, after a hard struggle, and hung to a tree in the main street of the town. But the tragedy which has excited the most attention and sympathy, was the hanging of a Mexican woman named Josepha, at Downleville, on the Yuba, by the populace. Having had some 'difficulty' with a miner, she stabbed him to the heart with a butcher's knife. The people immediately assembled, took her into custody, gave her a fair trial, and, upon conviction, sentenced her to be hung in two hours. A gallows was erected on a ridge crossing the river, at the lower end of the town, and at the appointed hour an immense crowd assembled, and, after bidding adios and shaking hands with those immediately round her, she ascended the scaffold, adjusted the rope herself, releasing a luxuriant head of hair from beneath it, so as to permit it to flow free, and in a moment the cords supporting the scaffold were cut, and she hung suspended between heaven and earth."

One more specimen. The inquest referred to is that which was instituted to inquire into the death of the man Jenkins, referred to above:—

"At the coroner's inquest held June 12, in San Francisco, Mr. David C. Broderick, who was present at the execution, but exerted himself to prevent it, testified that he was held back by one Wm. H. Jones and another man; that this Mr. Jones 'had hold of the rope, and that Mr. Jones seemed to be in favour of hanging everybody that did not belong to his party! I spoke to him,' continued Mr. Broderick, 'about the courts,' and his reply was, 'To hell with the courts.'"

THE PRESS OF FRANCE AND OF ENGLAND.

The following are the replies of Victor Hugo and his son to the address of sympathy presented by a large body of English journalists to M. Charles Hugo, on his recent imprisonment for an article in the *Eve-nement* against capital punishment. Four points in these letters would bespeak attention, even if they were not, the one, signed by a name illustrious in the literature of Europe, and the other, by a young man who, at a period of life often dissipated in frivolities, is found worthy to suffer in a noble cause.

A Journalist is imprisoned for six months for an article advocating the abolition of the guillotine, while at the same time insisting upon the sacredness of law.

The liberty of the Press under the quasi-republican dynasty of M. Louis Bonaparte is spoken of as "expiring," and this when the Minister of the Interior owes all he is and has to the Press.

The reciprocal sympathy of a free Press is invoked.

The brotherhood of France and England is announced by the leaders of the most advanced political party in France:—

LETTER OF M. VICTOR HUGO.

Paris, August 20, 1851.

SIR,—I leave it to my son to speak. It is for him to convey to you—it is for him to convey to your honourable brother journalists—all that we have felt in consequence of that great support of sympathy which has just come to solace him in the depth of his prison. You have done more than recompensed, you have glorified, him.

It will be the enduring honour of his life to have been the occasion of such a manifestation.

This manifestation is something more than a mere letter addressed by free writers to an oppressed writer; it is a symbol of the alliance of all the forces of civilization, henceforth converging towards a common object; it is the communion of two great nations in one idea of humanity.

Be so good, Sir, as to receive, and transmit to your honourable friends, the assurance of my lively sympathy and profound gratitude.

VICTOR HUGO.

Prison of the Conciergerie, August 20, 1851.

Gentlemen and dear Friends of the Press of Great Britain and Ireland,

I thank you from the depth of my heart for the words which in your kindness you have addressed to me. Did I condescend to honour with my regrets the condemnation that has been launched against me, this memorable proof of your generous sympathies would amply console me. I am touched at it, confused by it, proud of it; I seek in vain for words to express the gratitude I feel for so much kindness,—I, who am but one of the least tried of the journalists of our press, and among the most obscure of those who are in our prison.

You pay me, and far overpay me, for my six months of captivity. I am ignorant of having done anything to merit such a punishment. I know well that I have done nothing to deserve such a recompense.

Permit me then, gentlemen, to forget myself in answering you. I am as nothing in the cause which has procured my condemnation; the very feeling which has inspired your expressions is as far above the individual as that immense question of the inviolability of human life, which has so long been troubling the conscience of legislators.

Yes, gentlemen, every reader of your address can but have seen in it this two-fold fact—a great people stretching out the hand to a great idea—the press of England stretching out the hand to the press of France.

It belonged, of right, to you, the most free-thoughted writers of the freest press in the world, to take the initiative in these cordial expressions of sympathy from press to press. It is right for England, in the actual condition of affairs, to unite herself to France, as every people that is obeyed, ought to make common cause with every

people that is oppressed. The sovereign liberty of the press in England owes the duty of concurrence and support to the dying liberty of the press in France. You have solemnized an act of political brotherhood.

I will say more, gentlemen, you have solemnized an act of social brotherhood.

England and France, if I may be allowed the expression, time the march of nations. It would seem that these two noble Peoples have but one emulation and one ambition—to outstrip one another in the onward path of progress. You English have given the world illustrious examples. Was it not your Byron who first fought for Greece? your Wilberforce who entered the first protest against slavery?

Concurrently with the public writers of France, you are engaged in tearing away the mask from barbarism whenever you surprise it in the act of crime, in the broad daylight of the nineteenth century. Is it not from an English breast that there has gone forth that noble cry of indignation against the manifold iniquities wrought in the name and under the shadow of the Church by the infamous King of Naples? Is it not one of your statesmen who has denounced, in the face of the Gospel, the executioner king who calls himself the servant of the martyr-God.

We are both at the same post—we, when we oppose the shedding of blood on that guillotine which calls itself consecrated—you, when you suffer not the violation of humanity in the prisons of royalty. Both are committing—against the throne of Naples—we against the scaffold of the Rue St. Jacques—the same crime of High Treason.

Gentlemen, the cause of Capital Punishment Abolition is, every day, making incalculable progress. It walks—it runs—it flies. They may enchain its advocates, but it they cannot arrest. The cause leaves the writer in his prison, but itself remains free.

Who shall, henceforth, stop the march of the Peoples, with France and England in their van, and bearing on their banner the two words which comprise all politics and all philosophy—

Democracy! Humanity!

CHARLES HUGO.

ANTI-TRUCK.

Mr. Tremenhère's report upon the state of the truck system in South Staffordshire and Wales during the past year, has just been published. The principal aim of the report is to show the inadequacy of the existing Truck Act. It appears to be no check whatever to the mere money-grubbing class of masters. The following extract will speak for itself:—

"In November last I received a communication from the committees of the 'Anti-Truck Associations of Dudley, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Tipton, and Bilston,' stating their wish that their solicitor, Mr. Duignan, of Walsall, should confer with me respecting the proceedings of the association, and the inadequate provisions of the Truck Act, to enable me to lay before you the results of their experience. In an interview which I had shortly after with Mr. Duignan, he stated to me as follows:—'There are five Anti-Truck Associations in South Staffordshire—namely, at Walsall, Wolverhampton, Dudley, Tipton, and Bilston. They were set on foot in the early part of this year (1850). They are composed of manufacturers and tradesmen taking an interest in putting down truck. Nearly all the cash-paying masters are subscribers, and all the leading tradesmen and many small shopkeepers. There is a treasurer and secretary to each. We have ample funds to carry on prosecutions, and to maintain men who in consequence of joining us in our efforts have been thrown out of employment by the truck-paying masters. The cost of these together has amounted to upwards of £800 in the ten months. We have laid between 500 and 600 informations, and obtained about 250 convictions; and notwithstanding this, I do not think that we have reduced the amount of truck five per cent. After such an expenditure, so inadequate a result is very discouraging; and it is evident that, in the present state, the act is insufficient for its purpose. The evasions resorted to have prevented our obtaining second convictions against really responsible parties. On second convictions against men who cannot pay, we have detained, and then sent them to prison. We have felt it politic not to enforce the convictions in many cases, on receiving a promise not to pay again in truck. In some instances this has been adhered to, but in the majority not."

"The truck-paying masters are about a dozen, including three of the largest employers in the district—Mr. George Jones, Mr. Sparrow, and Mr. Lloyd (a member of the Society of Friends). The others are Messrs. Creswell, Mr. H. B. Whitehouse, Mr. Hartland, Mr. Fryer, banker and magistrate; Mr. John Jones, magistrate; Mr. J. James, Mr. Vernon (Bilston), Mr. James Marlow, Messrs. Coleburn and Green, &c. They employ altogether, I should think, upwards of 7000 people. In addition to these there is a considerable number of smaller iron-masters or contractors, who keep or are interested in truck-shops. It is well known, and I have had it out in evidence frequently, that the profits of a truck-shop are from 7 to 10 per cent., besides from four to six months' credit on the amount of goods sold in it. It is therefore too valuable a thing to them to be easily given up when they have once adopted it. The profits of the shop in large works amount to a very large sum, as may be exemplified in this way:—Say that the wages paid are £1000 per week, or £52,000 per annum, and that one-third of this, or £17,000, passes through the shop. Ten per cent. on this sum is £1700 a year. To this is to be added from four to six months' interest on the above sum of £17,000 at 3 per cent., in consequence of the credit to that extent given by the merchant to the above sum of £17,000 at 3 per cent., or about £200 more: making a profit altogether of nearly £2000 per annum from the truck-shop. The consequence is, that

in order to defend this system, several of the firms brought down counsel from London to defend the cases we had against them, and one firm did so no less than eight or ten times. It has only ended in their resorting to evasions, and until the act is altered nothing effectual can be done."

Several amendments of the Truck Act are suggested by the experience of Mr. Duignan. They refer to an extension of power simply, and are included to prevent evasions of the law.

PUBLIC OPINION.

Commenting on the late meeting of "Defenders" in Dublin, the *Norfolk News* writes thus:—

"The new act must be enforced, or its authors will be held up to the ridicule of the civilized world; and if they attempt to enforce it by consigning 'John of Tuam' to a prison, who will answer for the peace of Ireland, and who can composedly contemplate the rancorous religious commotion which will then be occasioned?"

"Let them who have called up the evil spirits lay them if they can; the disastrous consequences of this religious strife will fall not on the Catholics, or their hierarchy, but on those weak-minded Protestants who had no confidence in the power of the truth which they professed. 'They that take the sword shall perish with the sword;' and so we believe that the attempt, by ill-judged legislation, to extirpate a rival hierarchy, will react on its conductors, and lead ultimately to the overthrow of their own supremacy."

The *Wakefield Journal* estimates the meeting of the association from a different stand-point:—

"The aim and objects of this new combination are broadly stated, and unmistakable in their character, beginning with the repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill and terminating in the destruction of our Protestant existence and distinctiveness as a nation by the abolition of the coronation oath, which forms our only safeguard from a Papist occupying the throne of these realms."

"On Tuesday," says the *Northern Whig*, a Belfast paper, the Catholics "held what they called their aggregate meeting; and we protest we had rather see a squadron of foreign war-steamer threatening the coast, than such an exhibition as was made that day." It does not find fault with the meeting except as an appeal to religious discord; it does not approve of the obnoxious act which has raised the flame.

"The united Legislature was occupied, for six long months, in concocting a legal weapon with which to ward off some apprehended danger that nobody understood. After weary debates and much doubt and wavering, a law was passed, the promoters of which took much trouble to let the world know it should never be suffered to do the mischief people believed it could effect. That statute now lies safely on the shelf, where it is likely to grow worm-eaten for want of handling. Such has been the issue of some twelve months' legislation—an idle alarm and an inoperative statute!"

"Whoever helps to keep alive the flame of sectarian discord in this island, is guilty of a crime against his country; and if the Roman Catholics, who have had the latest cause to complain, do anything themselves which may tend to mar the peace of creed and party, they must be prepared to forfeit that sympathy which they have won from all liberal men. . . . Religion was the dove sent down from heaven with the olive-branch of peace. We have fought as fiercely round that symbol of love, as if the odour it exhaled was an intoxicating poison that robbed men of their reason. Eighteen hundred years is a long, long time, to jabber the lessons of Christianity with angry lips. When will we plant the living seed of Christian charity in our hearts?"

"The Bishops of the Established Church," says the *Londonderry Standard*, "are allowed to convert their sees into surnames, simply because they are Peers of Parliament!"

"Non-established Bishops of any Church, so styling themselves, merely display a vanity of the most puerile description. We believe that bishops have no business in Parliament—that they never did any good there; and we heartily sympathize with those Episcopalian gentlemen in England who are commencing an agitation to get them out of it."

The *Nottingham Mercury* stands up for Association.

"We are aware that for the present they are a good deal stunned by the blow which they have received from the failure of the land plan, and that their confidence in the power of association to assist in raising them as a class to the possession of property is considerably weakened. But let them not despair: ours is the day of association—every thing which is great and good among us derives its strength and efficiency from the union of many parts, judiciously combined, for the purpose of effecting one ultimate benefit: it may be for their own advantage or the good of others—still it is to union—to association—to the power of numbers united together as a band of indissoluble links for the securing of one common object that the successful result of their labours is owing."

The *Lincolnshire Chronicle* discusses local protectionism; and backs up George Frederick Young, &c. &c.

The *Inverness Courier* emphatically points out the railway competition raging north of London, but offers no opinion thereon.

The *Exeter Flying Post* declares that, as there is no intolerance, or attempt at intolerance, on the part of the Legislature, the idea of a defence association is quite out of character:—

"It may be a useful and important body to assist the

aggressive spirit of Pope Pius; but for the purposes of defence it will be utterly valueless. That this society is an aggression admits of no doubt whatever. The English Parliament has declared that it will not permit a body of Romish ecclesiastics to flaunt about this country with titles conferred by a foreign Sovereign; and then the Romanists, who are such dear sticklers for liberty, raise the cry of intolerance, and organize societies which in the most impudent and contemptuous manner violate the law."

The *Wolverhampton Herald* has an excellent and well-toned paper on cooperative association, called forth by Mr. Coningham's lectures:—

"It is true that the principle of co-operation is daily gaining ground amongst us, and marks distinctly enough the progress of our civilisation, but we are not prepared at once to assert that the adoption of the cooperative labour system proposed by Mr. Coningham, and already adopted to a very considerable extent in Paris, would be found either directly suited to the requirements of the labourers in this country, or to effect any vast advantages and improvements in their political and social condition. We do not, on the contrary, assert the negative of this; but, looking favourably on the subject of associative labour, think that at least a system which promises so much is deserving of a fair trial, when the people is prepared for its reception. We believe this experiment might be safely made in many agricultural and manufacturing districts of England; but there are, unhappily, many more, where ignorance, vice, and improvidence would for ever prevent its successful introduction. The schoolmaster and the clergyman are more wanted in the districts we have last referred to, than the political economists; and the teachings of wisdom, goodness, and providence, than the augmentation of capital and the co-operation of labour. The advantages to be derived from a wise concert and a judicious co-operation in the division of labour amongst men who are capable of understanding their position, and whose aspirations are above the mere enjoyments of sensual gratification and animal indulgence, cannot be doubted for a moment, for a thousand facts have demonstrated the truth of this position; but the particular application of the principle in this country, as laid down by the exponents of this branch of social economy, admits of much argument, and will, doubtless, at present find many opponents. The associations of every Englishman are with the old principle of master and servant, employer and employed, the capitalist and the workman; and an attempt to introduce a new principle in which these distinctions should be removed, and men should be placed on a common level, every workman being a copartner in the firm to the extent of his labour, capital, and talent, would excite an amount of prejudice and opposition scarcely to be imagined. Yet we think this no good reason for the nonintroduction of the system; as the best of things, simply because of their novelty, have met with similar obstructions. We should rather like to see the problem solved in certain districts and under favourable circumstances, and then we might venture on an opinion with certainty and with sufficient data on which to found it. At present, so far as this country is concerned, the system has not to any extent been tried, and our only reasoning must be founded on the statistics gathered from France."

The *Glasgow Chronicle* always thought, and has repeatedly said—"that Lord John Russell played into the hand of Cardinal Wiseman by the publication of his Durham Letter and the introduction of his Ecclesiastical Titles Bill!"

"It has little chance of being effective as a prohibitory statute, and the ambitious prelates with the new illegal names, as well as their Irish brethren with the old illegal names, have the doubly pleasing prospect of at once having their vain-glorious longings gratified and public sympathy excited on their behalf. . . . The ridicule of doing nothing where such enormous preparation has been made for doing something, must act powerfully in the way of tempting the Government into action; nevertheless, the *cui bono*, we believe, will be strong enough to restrain them to remain at rest."

The *Scotsman* is absorbed in the weather and the crops, and the corn question in general suggested by the monthly return in the *Gazette*:—

"Whether there are not various circumstances going some considerable way to counterbalance the effects of the fall in the price of grain—whether, in short, rents ought and will, or ought not and will not, come down—is a point on which we do not enter;—all we say is, that under the new order of things, the farmer is in a better position than under the old to make a safe and business-like bargain."

The following paragraph, cut from the *Dublin Evening Mail*, is either a feeler or a semi-official declaration of Whig tactics with respect to the "Defenders":—

"The English press, ignorant where the real strength of the case lies, is strongly disposed to echo the popular clamour and require an immediate prosecution. For our part we do not think it signifies a farthing whether a fine be levied off the violators of the anti-papal act, as long as it is clear to all good subjects that they have put themselves in the wrong by defying the law. The moral effect of their disobedience will be more injurious to the cause, which they are endeavouring by such means to uphold, than any triumph that might be gained over them, by carrying out the penalties of the new act."

NEWS FROM THE EAST.

The Overland Mail of this week brings news from India and China. The mail left Bombay on the 26th of July. The chief point of interest is, that the

Nizam had another reprieve. General Fraser received, on the 20th of June, a despatch from the Governor-General, demanding that the Nizam should give up the management of the Resident territory yielding a revenue of thirty-six lacs a year, to be held by him till the debt to the Company be discharged, and should besides make arrangements satisfactory to the Resident for the future regular payment of the contingent, and appoint a competent Minister. The language of the letter, in adverting to the state of the Nizam's dominions, is described as being exceedingly severe. On the 21st the Resident communicated this despatch to the Nizam, and requested an audience on the 24th, but the Nizam succeeded in getting a later day, the 1st of July, fixed for the interview. On the 28th he appointed Sooraj Ool Moolk Minister. His project is to avoid the cession of territory by paying the Company's Government annually in cash, until the debt is discharged, a sum equivalent to the revenue of the territory proposed to be sequestered. The Nizam, it is said, if he cannot pay the money, will passively resist ceding territory. By the Governor-General's despatch time was given him to the 15th of July, when, in case of his continuing refractory, the Resident is empowered to take military occupation of the districts under requisition. It is reported that, in pursuance with his project, Sooraj Ool Moolk has offered the Resident 18 lacs down, and asked for four or five months' more time for enabling him to make arrangements for securing the payment of the remainder. In any case it is probable that territory will be taken adequate to the future regular payment of the contingent.

Letters received after the above date from Hyderabad state that General Fraser had at last made up his mind regarding Sooraj Ool Moolk's overtures for the payment of the debt, and positively declined to accept his terms. It was said that he would have gone beyond his discretionary powers had he accepted them.

At the criminal sessions which terminated on the 16th of July, Dorabjee Hormusja, late ledger-keeper, and Lall-Doss Wittal-Doss, late under cashier in the Oriental Bank, were convicted of having stolen Bombay Bank notes of the value of 95,900 rupees from the Oriental Bank, and sentenced to seven years' transportation each. The former was also found guilty of forgery, and sentenced to 14 years' transportation.

The following is the latest from Hong Kong on the subject of the Chinese insurrection:—The Tartar Prime Minister, Sai-shang-ha, sent to meet the rebels, has halted on the borders of the Hunan province (the one adjoining Kwang-si), whence he tells his lord and master that he finds himself surrounded by rebels to sovereign authority, whom it is necessary to put down before proceeding further. Tah-tung-ha is said to be ill. Of the other commissioner we hear nothing. Wu-lan-tair, Lieutenant-General of Tartar troops at Canton, left his garrison about a fortnight ago with the intention of coalescing with the commissioners.

The pretended emperor is reported to be at present stopping at Sin-chau, a departmental city of Kwang-si, having a water communication with Canton, whence it is distant about 200 miles. In a letter from one of his followers we find it stated that Teen-teh is himself at the head of the rebel forces, whom he led to victory "in the middle term of the third month of the present year" (about two months ago), "when 10,000 of the Government troops were destroyed, being hemmed in, in a narrow pathway through a wood in a mountain pass." Having been duly proclaimed Emperor, Teen-teh dates the commencement of his reign from the month of September of last year, and has published an almanack, which his emissaries are busy distributing in various parts of the empire. In Kiang-si, the province between Hunan and Fokien, we hear that great demonstrations are made in his favour.

CONSTITUTIONALISM IN THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

We have seen a King of Siam promise his subjects a limited monarchy. The King of the Sandwich Islands has outstripped him. In the Honolulu papers of the 31st of May there is the following account of the opening of the Parliament of Sandwich. It is only seventy-three years since Captain Cook was killed on the beach Hawaii.

"The two Houses of Parliament were formally opened by the King in person on the 6th of May, at the large stone church in Honolulu. Referring to the relations of the Sandwich Islands' Government with France, the King said that the diplomatic relations had not been fully restored. 'My friendly relations with Great Britain' are uninterrupted, and with the United States 'continue of the most friendly kind.' After reference to certain treaties and other matters, the King recommends increased attention to agriculture, the markets of California, Oregon, Vancouver's Island, &c., affording a profitable outlet for more than the islands produce. Sanitary regulations are recommended in view of the revival of the cholera in ports trading with the Sandwich Islands; and the revenue is declared to be, though small, more than sufficient for the wants of the Government, and it leaves a surplus for purposes of internal improve-

ment. The speech was delivered in the Hawaiian language, and afterwards read in English for the benefit of the foreign Ministers present."

And these institutions repose on a basis wanting in some states of larger growth. "There are in the Sandwich Islands, 441 Protestant schools, with 12,949 scholars; and 102 Roman Catholic schools, with 2359 scholars; total number of schools, 543; of scholars, 16,308."

A LOMBARD MARTYR.

Private letters supply some interesting particulars respecting Chiesa, the Milanese workman, who was shot the other day at Milan by Radetzky's butchers, on the charge of distributing revolutionary papers. On his trial, Chiesa was asked, "Who gave you the writings to post?" He answered, "No one; I composed them myself." "Where did you get them printed?" "I printed them myself in my own dwelling." "Where are your printing materials?" "I do not know." * * * On his passage from the prison to the place of punishment the confessor promised him immunity if he would make a revelation of his accomplices. Chiesa, who has left a wife and a daughter without means of support, constantly refused to purchase his life at the price of dishonour. He saluted, with a quiet and serene air the people who were near, and kneeling to receive his death, said in a loud voice, "My sacrifice is the sign of the coming ruin of Austria." He refused to let his eyes be bandaged, wishing to look his murderers to the last in the face. This political assassination, so atrocious in itself, was even consummated without legal forms; for the officer who commanded the platoon charged with the execution, having fallen down in a faint, could not give the signal; and the soldiers fired without receiving orders. The following is still worse:—"The wife and daughter of Chiesa are in prison; the Austrian judge leaves them ignorant of the death of their relative, and tries to wrest from them revelations of his accomplices by promising the pardon of the husband and father as a reward for their avowals."

It is hoped by some charitable people, "for the sake of humanity," that this last detail is not true. But it is a proceeding too much in character with Austrianism for us to have any doubt of its truth. Even the executioners desert the common foe. Chiesa was to have been hanged according to the sentence of the court-martial; but the executioner of Bergamo refused his services. The executioner (hated to the foreign yoke so deeply ingrained in the nation, that it has penetrated even to this most abhorred of its functionaries) has been punished with death for his disobedience!

PERSONAL NEWS AND GOSSIP.

Royalty has begun its annual excursion. That astonishing rapidity which characterises Queen Victoria was never more signally displayed. The whole Court and Royal Family left Osborne on Wednesday morning at nine o'clock, reached Buckingham Palace at half-past twelve, rested an hour, and then set off for the Great Northern Railway-station. Owing to the inveterate negligence of the St. Pancras Board, the New-road was barricaded as impassable for royalty, though the lieges have been jolted upon its rugged surface for the last two months. Consequently the Queen had to make a detour; and, by dodging through bye-streets, got to Maiden-lane. The carriages, duly escorted by hussars, arrived about ten minutes to two at the station, where gay preparations had been made to receive them. The platforms were covered with purple cloth, and a suite of entirely new carriages elegantly and tastefully fitted up for the Queen and her family. The train started about two, and dashed along at thirty miles an hour, until it reached Hitchin. Here the station was covered with flowers and evergreens, and a crowd assembled. All along the fields there were groups on foot and on horseback. At Boston, during the seven minutes' delay, Lord John Russell introduced the mayor, who contrived to read an address. Thence the train set off for Doncaster, its ultimate destination for the night, where she arrived at about half-past six. Addresses were presented to her on the platform by the mayor and corporation. The next morning at nine o'clock her Majesty set off for Edinburgh, and entered Holyrood Palace about four o'clock.

Sir George and Lady Grey arrived at Dundee in the Lightning steamer on Friday week. He inspected the docks and made an excursion into the country, returning to Dundee on Saturday, and embarking for a cruise in the North Sea on Monday.

The director of the *Costituzionale* of Florence has been prohibited from publishing even the smallest fragment of Mr. Gladstone's letters.

On the Hawarden estate the tenants of the right Honourable W. E. Gladstone, M.P., have been allowed a reduction of 16 per cent. on their respective rentals for the half-year.

The *Sherborne Journal* states, that the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells has been obliged to have three of his fingers amputated; mortification ensuing in these parts, the painful operation became necessary to save his lordship's life.

Dr. Engledue has been abused and insulted at Portsmouth by an officer, whose dog was hurt under the wheels

of the doctor's carriage. Dr. Engledue expressed his sorrow at the accident, and in return received abuse. Failing to obtain an apology he brought an action for assault, and got small damages.

A dinner was given on the 27th to Mr. Robert Stephenson, by the Principality of Wales, in honour of the completion of the Britannia-bridge. A number of "notables" were present, and considerable gaiety existed out of doors.

Professor Walsh, of Cork, who had the chair of Jurisprudence in the Queen's College there, died on the 21st instant.

At the church of St. Nicholas, Brighton, on Monday morning, Miss Helena Faucit Saville, the charming Helen Faucit of the dramatic world, was married to Mr. Theodore Martin, solicitor, reputed one of the writers in the *Edinburgh Review* [and "Bon Gaultier" of *Tait's Magazine*]. The ceremony was conducted in a comparatively private manner, though the rumour of it, quiet as it had been kept, drew a considerable number of persons to the sacred edifice. The wedding party arrived about ten o'clock, the bells pealing forth merrily on their approach. The bride looked charming, though she appeared much agitated, and was in tears. She wore a white silk dress, trimmed with lace; a wreath of orange blossoms encircled her head, and hence depended a rich veil. The bridal party included Mr. and Mrs. John Saville, Mr. and Mrs. Edmund Saville, Mr. Diddar, Mr. W. Farren, jun., Mr. and Mrs. H. Farren, and Mrs. Faucit, the bride's mother. The ceremony was performed by the Reverend H. M. M. Wagner, vicar of Brighton. Mr. John Saville gave the bride away. The bridesmaids were the Misses, Kate Saville and Eliza Bruce. The ceremony was conducted throughout in the most serious and impressive manner. At its conclusion the wedding party returned to the Pier Hotel, where an elegant *déjeuner* awaited them; and soon afterwards the bride and bridegroom departed, *vid Newhaven*, for Paris.—*Post*.

Mrs. Crowther, widow of the late Colonel Crowther of the Twenty-Seventh Fusiliers, threw herself out of a window on Thursday, at Cheltenham, and was killed on the spot.

The anniversary of the death of Louis Philippe was celebrated at the French Roman Catholic Chapel, in Portman-square, on the 26th, by l'abbé Mailly. A great number of leading Orleanists were present.

Radetzky arrived in Venice on the 20th of August.

Died at Heidelberg, on the 10th instant, H. E. G. Paulus, Doctor of Theology, of Philosophy, and of Laws, a man who, for more than half a century, has been celebrated as one of the most able and active among the theological and philosophical writers of Germany. Dr. Paulus was born at Lemberg, near Stuttgart, in 1761. He studied chiefly at Tübingen, but visited several other universities in Germany, Holland, and England. While at Oxford in the year 1784, he was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages at Jena, chiefly through the recommendation of Griesbach. In 1793, he succeeded to the theological chair, and gave lectures on theology above forty years at Jena, Würzburg, and Heidelberg, till advancing age and its infirmities compelled him to retire from his public duties. His profound learning, penetrating judgment, unshrinking courage, and unwearied assiduity, obtained for his writings, which were very numerous, a wide circulation, and his researches, historical and critical, as well as the inferences he deduced from them, produced, without doubt, considerable effect on the public mind. In private life he was singularly amiable, easy of access, courteous to strangers, bestowing kind and unostentatious attention on all who sought his assistance, and ever actively employed up to his ninetieth year in endeavouring to promote the interests of freedom, order, and peace, of piety, virtue, and humanity.—Correspondent of the *Times*.

Lord John Hay died at St. Michael's-terrace, Stoke, near Plymouth, on Tuesday evening, about nine o'clock. He had the reputation of being one of the most active and skilful of our naval officers. According to O'Byrne, the Right Honourable Lord John Hay was born on the 1st of April, 1793, and was the third son of the seventh Marquis of Tweeddale. He entered the navy as a first-class volunteer on the 4th of December, 1804, on board the *Monarch*, 74, Captain Searle, and continued with the Mediterranean force until June, 1811, during which time he lost his left arm at the cutting out of some vessels in Hyères Bay, and on the night of the 16th of July, 1808, contributed to the capture, after a memorably furious engagement, of the Turkish man-of-war *Badere Zaffer*, mounting 52 guns, with a complement of 543 men, of whom 170 were slain, and 200 wounded; and the *Alis Fegan*, 26, was at the same time put to flight. Lord John's commission was dated May 1, 1812; his appointment to the *Pique*, 36, June 1, 1812; and to the *Venerable*, 74, May 31, 1814; he was advanced to the rank of Commander on the 15th of June; and on the 15th of November joined the *Bustard*, 10, off Lisbon. In 1815 his lordship obtained the command of the *Opossum*, 10, in which sloop he served on the Channel and North American stations until paid off on the 6th of August, 1818. He attained post-rank on the 7th of December following, and was subsequently appointed Dec. 24, 1832, Nov. 19, 1836, and March 8, 1837, to the *Castor*, 36, Phoenix steamer, and North Star, 28, which vessels he commanded till 1840. He had charge of a battalion of Marines during this period, and acted as commodore of a small squadron on the north coast of Spain, where the importance of his services as connected with the civil war, especially at the siege of Bilbao, procured him in 1837 the Grand Cross of the Order of Charles III., and the Companionship of the Bath. Lord John Hay, who next, from the 17th of August, 1841, until October, 1845, commanded the *Warspite*, 50, on the coast of North America (whither he conveyed Lord Ashburton) and in the West Indies, was successively appointed in 1846 Acting Superintendent of Woolwich Dockyard, chairman

of the Board of Naval Construction, and a Lord of the Admiralty; which latter office he retained until his appointment, on the 9th of February, 1850, Captain-Superintendent of the Devonport Dockyard. His lordship was a deputy-lieutenant for the county of Haddington, and sat in Parliament for that shire in 1826 and 1830. In 1833 he received a large silver medal from the Society for the Encouragement of Arts for his invention of a telescope-holder for the use of a person with only one hand. Lord John Hay was brother-in-law of Mr. John Henry Ley, clerk to the House of Commons, and of Lord Broughton, President of the Board of Control.

Mr. Richard Somersgard, a gentleman of considerable local influence, will contest the representation of Honiton at the next general election.

The Protectionist party in Colchester are taking steps to secure the return of W. W. Hawkins, Esq., of Alford-hall, at the next election for this borough, in conjunction with Lord John Manners, one of the sitting members.—*Standard*.

The *Liverpool Standard* suggests that Lord Stanley be invited to become a candidate for the representation of Liverpool at the next election, on the Protectionist interest, to replace Mr. Cardwell; and it is quite settled that Mr. Thomas Birch Horsfall, also a Protectionist, will oppose Sir T. B. Birch.

The Honourable Daniel Webster, it is again reported, is about to retire from the United States' Cabinet; at the same time it is said that he is fairly in the field as a candidate for the next presidency.

The daughter of M. de Brunet, British Vice-Consul at St. Sebastian, a beautiful girl of eighteen, whilst dancing at the last public ball, was stabbed to the heart by a Spanish officer, whose addresses had been rejected by her family. She died upon the spot, and the murderer was instantly arrested. He afterwards tried, unsuccessfully, to poison himself.

A letter from Florence of the 19th instant, in the *Opinione* of Turin, says:—"In the night of Sunday last an Englishman, named Walker, was arrested, as well as three or four Florentines who were reading at his house the Bible of Diodati. This Walker was a great friend of Count Guicciardini, who has been temporarily exiled from Tuscany by order of the police." Another journal, the *Costituzionale*, states that Mr. Walker was arrested on a charge of Protestant propaganda, but after a short detention had been set at liberty.

The Archbishop of Milan, Ronilli, who, during the triumph of the Milanese revolution, blessed the Italian flag, and preached a cr.-sade against Austria,—this same archbishop, in one of the circulars addressed to all the clergy in his diocese, forbids them to give absolution to Catholics who come to confess, if they refuse to denounce to the police the enemies of the Government.

"We understand that the Hungarian band whose performances have been announced to take place at the Hanover-square Rooms, cannot appear before a London audience for the present."—*Morning Chronicle*. (What may this mean? Has the Austrian Minister interdicted Anna Zerr was deprived of her title as Imperial singer the other day; and Professor Isana has been honoured, after twenty-seven years service, in the same manner, for having assisted at the concert in behalf of the Hungarian refugees. Is Hungary to share the fate of Poland?)

The following letter has been addressed by the Duke of Wellington to the Secretary of the West and North London Anti-Enclosure Societies:—

"London, August 25.
"F.M. the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr. Griffiths. He has received his letter of the 20th instant. Although the duke again declines to enter into any discussion with the secretary of a self-appointed and self-authorised association upon the details of his duty as Ranger of the Park, in relation to his superiors in office, the Board of Woods and Forests, he observes that Mr. Griffiths has not quoted correctly what, it appears from the reports, the President of the Board of Woods and Forests stated in respect of his communication with the Ranger of the Park upon the removal of Mrs. Hicks. The duke does not exactly understand what connection is supposed to exist between his house in Piccadilly and Mrs. Hicks's cottage. The duke purchased from the Crown his property in Piccadilly; Mrs. Hicks is neither more nor less than a squatter on the bank of the Serpentine river. The duke has frequently considered it his duty to inquire, and he could never find that Mrs. Hicks had any authority whatever to establish herself there. He believes that it will not be very easy to convince the public that the Duke of Wellington has been guilty of an offence because he recommended that the opinion of the law officers of the Crown should be taken before any measures should be adopted to remove Mrs. Hicks from the park.
"To Mr. Henry Dowell Griffiths."

FIRES.

There have been four serious fires this week. Three occurred on Tuesday. Large premises were burned in Drury-lane, but no life lost, about the middle of the day. At East Greenwich, soon after, flames were discovered in the house of a plumber. The inmates of this house escaped; but the neighbours were in a panic. Mary Thomas, in her excitement, threw two of the children out of the window. Fortunately a man caught them, and they received no injury; but Mrs. Thomas, in jumping from the same opening, although assisted by the same man, rebounded from his shoulder, and striking a wall broke her collar-bone. She was immediately removed to a surgeon's in the neighbourhood. The other fire was at Brompton, where several new houses were destroyed. Very early on Wednesday morning a large manufactory at Mile End burst into a blaze. The whole building used as lard and oil works, was enveloped in flames before

the firemen reached the spot; but water being in plenty, and quite a regiment of engines being present, after a few hours' hard work at the pumps, the flames were subdued.

FIRES AT SEA.

Spontaneous combustion has destroyed two vessels at sea. One was an Indianman of 600 tons, bound from Calcutta to Liverpool, by name Jaeger. Her cargo was saltpetre, rice, and sugar. The fire took place on the 26th of July, and was discovered at first, not by smoke, but by the heat below. Great efforts were made to vanquish the fire, but in vain; and the crew escaped on board the Europa, a ship which at a distance had observed the smoke, and gallantly bore down to render any necessary assistance.

The second unfortunate loss by fire was the Keldy Castle, belonging to Hartlepool, chartered by the West India Mail Steamship Company to supply coals to their depot at Monte Video. That the coals spontaneously ignited, and led to the destruction of the vessel cannot for a moment be doubted. Many instances are on record where coals lengthened voyages, through the want of ventilation, have ignited and occasioned the burning of the vessel. Some days prior to the 25th of June the Keldy Castle was found to be on fire. There was no want of exertion on the crew's part to save her from destruction. They worked at the pumps day and night to keep the fire under, but to no purpose, and they were at length compelled to take to the boats, where they were exposed four days and nights, suffering great privations before they were picked up. The vessel that saved them was the Colonel Maule, from Callao, the captain of which is deserving of the highest commendation for searching for one of the boats, they having parted and lost sight of each other.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The *Daily News* publishes a list of the names of the absolute majority of the Neapolitan Parliament imprisoned, exiled, or persecuted to death by the King of Naples. This verifies Mr. Gladstone's statement.

We read in the French paper appearing in Constantinople, that a Polish refugee of the name of Rudniski has discovered a sort of *perpetuum mobile*, at least an engine which somewhat approaches perpetual motion, for when once put in motion it can preserve it for twenty years. The power of this engine is said to be greater than that of any other yet known. The article in the same paper says that the inventor has made as a model a small carriage, 22 inches long, 11 inches wide, and 14 inches high; that it carries a burden of one ton; and that its speed is a mile a minute. The inventor is now occupied in building a mill after his method for the Turkish Government.

The Austrian National Guard was dissolved by an Imperial ordinance on the 24th of August.

There are nine Polish-Hungarian refugees in Norwich maintained chiefly by the subscriptions of sympathizing friends. The *Norfolk News* says it is informed, that "they are all progressing as fast as possible in the acquisition of their trade, and their conduct for industry and sobriety is quite exemplary."

The Convocation of the Clergy, which meets annually, concurrent with Parliament, was on Thursday prorogued by the Archbishop of Canterbury until February. It is not allowed to do anything and is, therefore, a sham and a mockery.

The *Banner of Ulster* calls attention to the following manifesto from the Marquis of Londonderry to his tenants:—"The persons or tenants whom Lord Londonderry has had just reason to complain of, and on whom he ordered evictions to be served, will see by such proceeding that Lord Londonderry has no desire to retain any one on his estate who acts wrong by him, or who wishes to live elsewhere. Those persons or tenants, therefore, if they desire to remain for their own objects, will send in their names and make such request to Lord Londonderry, or else they will be expected to give up their holdings at the time appointed. If they ask to remain, it will be considered by Lord Londonderry." Lord Londonderry is a cool fellow—but often a hind one. What means the new enigma?

The attendance at the Exposition this week has been small, comparatively, the highest number being upwards of 51,000, and the lowest less than 39,000. Possibly this may arise from the double influence of the rush from town of the holders of season tickets, and of harvest operations. Still the numbers are even now larger than were anticipated last January.

An important trial took place before the Brighton magistrates on Thursday. Two men named Gregory and Stallard were charged with having entered into a conspiracy to defraud the Brighton Railway Company. The conspiracy consisted in this: Stallard deals in excursion tickets, a very common practice both in London and at Brighton. By purchasing a third-class ticket of a dealer and handing it in with one shilling the purchaser can obtain what is called an excess second-class ticket. In the present instance a police inspector was set to watch the parties. He saw the transfer of a ticket in exchange for some money. He witnessed the exchange of a third-class for a second-class ticket at the station, and he rode up to town with Gregory the purchaser. But the ticket was not produced, the contract between the accused parties was not proven, and the case consequently broke down. It seemed, however, to be the opinion of the bench and the lawyers on both sides, that if a transfer for money could be adequately proved, an indictment would lie against the parties for conspiracy. Mr. Faithfull, the solicitor of the railway company, announced that the accused would be indicted at the Assizes.

With the view to prevent accidents in the tunnels on the Great Northern, it appears that underground telegraphs are now being laid through the several tunnels on this railway, so as to enable the man stationed at one end to communicate with the man at the other end when

a train goes into, or comes out of the tunnel. It is intended that no second train shall be allowed, under any circumstances, to enter a tunnel until a communication is made that the first train has passed out.

Some miscreant cut the pit rope at the Malago Vale Colliery, the scene of the late fatal accident, on Monday last. Fortunately it was discovered before the men had entered the bucket. The cut, which extended across the rope, penetrated to the depth of a quarter of an inch. It appeared to have been made with a chisel or sharp knife, and it had evidently been cut in an upward direction. It is considered by competent persons that the incision in the rope was sufficiently deep to endanger its safety when the weights came to act upon it; and it is not improbable that, had it not fortunately been discovered before the bucket was lowered, several poor fellows would have been dashed to pieces.

The jury who sat to inquire into the dreadful accident at the Washington Colliery arrived at the following verdict late on the night of the 27th:—"We are of opinion that William Hall, and the thirty-two others named in the depositions, came by their deaths by the firing of the Washington Pit, in McName's board, on the 18th of August instant; and we are of opinion that the air, having been highly charged with gas previously, and probably receiving a sudden check, had caused the fire to increase outside this board; that lamps ought to have been used instead of candles; and there should have been more brattice, as recommended by Mr. Dunn" (the Government inspector). It should be remarked, that Mr. Dunn's recommendation was made after the explosion, as appears from the evidence, he not having examined the pit previously.

An agrarian murder has been perpetrated in Kilkenny. Edward White, having by his own industry amassed a considerable property in ready money, purchased a short time since a portion of the Portlanning estate in the neighbourhood of Abbeyleix, in which village he resided. A dispute arose with some persons in the locality about a right of turbary, and some summonses to petty sessions had been issued on both sides. Some litigation was thus going forward, but there was no uncommon feature in the transaction, and anything like serious ill-feeling towards himself was not apprehended by Mr. White. However, on Monday morning, whilst driving to his land, he was met on the road by a man who stopped the gig, deliberately shot Mr. White through the heart, and then having thrown the pistol into the vehicle, coolly walked away. The pony proceeded on its journey, and conveyed the inanimate corpse of its master to the farm. The murder was committed within sight of hundreds of people reaping in the surrounding fields; but not the slightest attempt was made either to render assistance to the gentleman attacked, or to apprehend the assassin.

A woman was found dead in Regent-street on Wednesday. There were no marks of violence on her person. An inquest has been held, and the verdict is—"Died of apoplexy."

Annette Meyers, who shot the guardman in Birdcage-walk, and whose case excited so much commiseration in England, has arrived in Van Diemen's Land.

The case of Cole, the policeman, charged with having caused by violence the death of William Cogan, in Plumtree-court, Shoe-lane, was continued on Tuesday for the defence. Alderman Wilson further remanded Cole, and postponed his decision for a week. When the whole case is concluded, we shall lay it before our readers.

Thomas Ledger, the master of the National School at Ager-town, was charged before Mr. Tyrwhitt, at Clerkenwell, on Saturday, with assaulting one of his pupils, aged twelve years. The boy's back was very severely whaled. The punishment was administered with a cane, and in private. The defence set up was, that the boy was "obstinate and wicked," and that he "snapped his fingers during prayers." Mr. Tyrwhitt was of opinion that the case ought to end there, for no great harm had been done. He would repeat what he had often said, that he had seen punishments far more severe inflicted in the school where he was brought up, upon some of the first noblemen now living, clergymen, naval and military officers, and others of very high standing, who never flinched from it, but took it manfully and in good part, knowing they had deserved it, and that it was for the character and dignity of the establishment that such a discipline was actually necessary; "and without it," he emphatically exclaimed the worthy magistrate, "what would have become of our army and navy? Why, instead of a brave and manly race, we should have had a set of cowards and runaways." He did not approve of secret flogging; if it was necessary, it ought to take place before the other scholars, to operate as a warning. The Reverend C. Hart hoped the matter would be settled there, and gave defendant a very high character. The father would not consent; he was desirous that defendant should be tried before a jury. Ultimately it was agreed that the case should be referred to the sessions, so that it might be decided to what extent a schoolmaster was justified in correcting youths committed to his care. Bail was taken for his appearance to take his trial, and he was liberated.

The following is a case of singular fatuity and ignorance:—A young woman is seeking to transport herself and luggage from Bloomsbury to her mother's at Clapham common. She deposits her luggage on the pavement, and engages with a man passing by in a large covered cart to take her to Clapham. After some delay she was duly ensconced in the cart, and the vehicle started off. John Sharp rode on the vehicle, and an unknown individual drove it. For a long time they journeyed through the streets, until at length it became dark. Berr, for which the girl paid, in hope of getting them along more rapidly, was imbued by the way. When darkness set in she became frightened, and spoke of her fears. John Sharp told her not to be alarmed; but soon afterwards he justified her apprehensions by making a violent and criminal assault upon her. She resisted, her

dress was crumpled and torn, she cried out, and at length in despair flung herself from the cart. In doing so she got entangled in the traces, and hung suspended. Fortunately, a young man passing rescued her, and the cart drove off. She was in Hackney Marshes instead of Clapham common. A policeman pursued the cart and captured Sharp. The case was heard before Mr. D'Eyncourt, at Worship-street, Sharp was remanded, and the driver of the cart ordered to be brought up as a witness.

Complaints have lately been made to Mr. Yardley and Mr. Ingham, respecting the frightful stale stuff sold for food. One man complained of buying sausages impregnated with red lead; another, that his children had been seized with diarrhoea in consequence of eating sausages made of tainted meat. A woman exhibited a pair of blacklooking savellys, which she said her children could not eat. In all these cases the money had been demanded back from the sellers, who of course had refused. The magistrates stated that they could not interfere. Mr. Yardley recommended a public prosecutor; and both he and Mr. Ingham agreed that the only remedy was an action in the County Court.

The miscreant, Thomas Spurrier, who attempted to violate the girl in Hornsey Wood, has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 29th of May, at Hong Kong, the wife of the Lord Bishop of Victoria, of a son.
On the 5th of August, at Gibraltar, the wife of Captain Lynedoch Gardiner, military secretary, of a son, who survived his birth only a few hours.
On the 19th, at Heath's-court, Ottery St. Mary, Mrs. J. D. Coleridge, of a son.
On the 21st, at Cobham-hall, Kent, the Countess of Darley, of a son and heir.
On the 21st, at St. Peter's, Northampton, the Honourable Mrs. De Saumarez, of a son.
On the 24th, at the Priory, Reigate, the Marchioness of Ailes, of a daughter.
On the 24th, at Eaton-place, the Baroness Bertouche, of a son.
On the 26th, at Esb Parsonage, near Durham, the wife of the Reverend Stuart Pears, Assistant-Master of Harrow School, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

On the 26th of July, at Kingstown Church, in the Island of St. Vincent, Edwin Polson, Esq., a member of the bar, and one of the stipendiary magistrates of the island, to Mary, only surviving daughter of the late James Jones, Esq., M.D., of the same island.
On the 19th of August, at St. Luke's Church, Chelsea, Frederick Arthur, youngest son of the late Captain Richard Noworthy, Paymaster Second West India Regiment, to Eliza Louisa Spry, eldest daughter of George Thompson, Esq., M.P. for the Tower Hamlets.
On the 19th, at the parish church, Iffracombe, Captain Edward Kaye, Bengal Artillery, to Eliza Sommers, second daughter of Rear-Admiral Down, of Iffracombe, Devon.
On the 20th, at Weybridge, the Reverend G. H. Fagan, rector of King's Weston, Somerset, second son of the late Colonel G. H. Fagan, Adjutant-General of the Bengal Army, to Rose, fourth daughter of the late Sir Harding Giffard, Chief Justice, Ceylon.
On the 20th, at Aberdeen, W. Jamieson, Esq., Airdrie, to Marion, daughter of W. Macgillivray, Esq., LL.D., Professor of Natural History, Marischal College, Aberdeen.
On the 21st, at Brighton, George Goodbody, Esq., of the House of Lords, to Miss Julia Wallace, of Parliament-street, London.
On the 21st, at St. George's Church, Hanover-square, William Henry Hainsford Hainsford, Esq., of Kirkdale, in the Stewartry of Kirkcubright, to Maria, daughter of the late Colonel Samuel Dalrymple, H.E.I.C.S., and relict of the late Robert Stewart, Esq., of Alderton, M.P.
On the 21st, at Netherbury, Dorset, Henry Reeve, Esq., of her Majesty's Privy Council-office, to Christina Georgina Jane, only daughter of George Tilly Gollup, Esq., of Strode-house, in the county of Dorset.
On the 21st, at Edinburgh, William Wilson, M.D., Florence, to Jeanette Elizabeth Wood, eldest daughter of Lord Wood, one of the Judges of the Court of Session in Scotland.
On the 25th, at St. Nicholas' Church, Brighton, by the Reverend H. M. Wagner, Theodore Martin, Esq., James-street, Buckingham-gate, to Miss Helen Fancit.
On the 26th, at the parish church of Farnham, Surrey, Douglas Galton, Lieutenant Royal Engineers, second son of I. H. Galton, Esq., of Hadzor, Worcestershire, to Marianne, daughter of G. T. Nicholson, Esq., of Waverley Abbey, near Farnham.

DEATHS.

On the 9th of May last, at sea, of dysentery, on the voyage to Moulin, whilst commanding the ship Bankes, from Glasgow, Mr. William Randall Carter.
On the 25th, at Penang, where he had gone for the recovery of his health, Alfred John Leslie Melville, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service, aged twenty-four.
On the 26th, at sea, on his passage home from India, Captain John Seager, Eighth Regiment Native Infantry, Madras Army.
On the 26th of July, at Killran Manor, Argyllshire, the Reverend Donald Macdonald, in the eightieth year of his age, and the fifty-fourth of his ministry of the united parishes of Killran and Kilkinnie.
On the 11th of August, on board the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Company's ship Indus, between Malta and Gibraltar, Captain J. F. Sanders, of the Indian Navy, late commander of the Honourable Company's sloop of war Elphinstone, and senior naval officer at Aden.
On the 18th, at Brighton, the Earl of Clare.
On the 20th, at Wickham, Hants, aged fifty-four, Captain William Burnaby Greene, R.N.
On the 22nd, at Park-place, Regent's-park, aged eighty-one, Major George Langlands, of the Thirtieth Veteran Battalion, and formerly of the Seventh-fourth Regiment of Foot, in which he served under the Duke of Wellington in India and the Peninsula.
On the 22nd, at Sandford, near Fries, Salop, Alexina Nisbet, the beloved wife of Thomas Hugh Sandford, Esq., daughter of the late Honourable Charles Lindsay, and niece of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.
On the 22nd, at Bow, Charles George Harding, aged twenty-six.
On the 24th, at Savile-row, Emily Henrietta, infant daughter of H. Handel Gear, Esq.
On the 24th, at Walworth, Captain William Grint, R.N., aged sixty-six.
On the 24th, at Coates-crescent, General Sir A. Halket, K.C.H., fifth son of Sir J. W. Halket, Bart., of Pittfarran.
On the 26th, at the Grove, Watford, the infant daughter of the Earl and Countess of Clarendon.
On the 26th, Lord John Hay, in his fifty-eighth year.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

It is impossible to acknowledge the mass of letters we receive. Their insertion is often delayed, owing to a press of matter; and when omitted it is frequently from reasons quite independent of the merits of the communication. Communications should always be legibly written, and on one side of the paper only. If long, it increases the difficulty of finding space for them.

Postscript.

SATURDAY, August 30.

The Bishop of Manchester presided over a meeting of about five hundred gentlemen in the Town-hall of Manchester on Thursday, to hear Mr. William Entwistle read a paper on the Salford and Manchester educational scheme, the rival of the plan propounded by the National Public School Association. His conclusions were entirely in favour of the former, while he admitted that if it failed the secular educationists would have a right to say that any public system for combining religious with secular instruction was indeed impossible.

A discussion arose afterwards. The Dean of Manchester said, among other things:—

"I have been told repeatedly that I have been acting rather against Church principles in acting in support of a scheme of this kind. I deny it entirely. (*Hear, hear.*) I believe that we are actually supporting Church principles. (*Hear, hear.*) We are supporting them in the best and most effective manner. (*Hear, hear.*) We are educating the people for the purpose of enabling them to investigate truth, and if Church principles be not truth, I can have nothing to do with them. (*Loud cheers.*) It was also said that they were supporting dissent. I know not in what way that can be applied; I believe it to be absolutely necessary that every person should have the fullest liberty to exercise his own judgment in that which concerns himself personally. (*Loud applause.*) The object of this bill is not to create greater differences than already exist between what are called Church principles and what are called latitudinarian sentiments; but it is for the very purpose of making persons inquire diligently for themselves, under proper guidance, in order that they may be settled down in those things which they shall ultimately find best for their own satisfaction, and shall find agreeable to the word of God as they themselves can understand it."

The Reverend Mr. Fletcher, an Independent minister, spoke up for compromise upon minute points of difference; and he put a difficulty and rid himself of it thus:—

"Permit me, gentlemen, to say, that with respect to myself, the chief difficulty I felt was on the great point of religious liberty. (*Hear, hear.*) As a conscientious Dissenter, I felt that I could not be a party to the erection of what has been called a second religious establishment. You will forgive me—all those who take a different view on that point—for allowing myself to feel this difficulty. (*Hear, hear.*) But, on looking at the matter, it appears to me that the rate is applied simply for the secular part of the instruction, and the religious portion is thus left to the conscience of each parent, or child of each parent."

He arrived at the conclusion that the rate was levied, not for the support of schoolmasters, but was given to the parents, in fact, to send their children to school.

The Bishop of Manchester, in his address, having expressed himself strongly in favour of combined secular and religious education, said:—

"But while I like this, gentlemen, there is another feature in the present scheme which holds it no less valuable in my eyes, and that is the fact that it provides the largest and most extended religious toleration. (*Applause.*) Nor let any one fear, who is a member of the Church of England, in this room, that in expressing this opinion and advocating these views I feel I am in the slightest degree perilling that Church in all its purity and all its integrity. So deeply am I convinced of the truth of her doctrines, so respectfully and reverentially do I view all her formularies, that I not only never would consent to omit them in any education which I had to direct myself, but I would never desecrate them by forcing them on those who could not receive them with a just appreciation of their excellence. (*Great cheering.*) I thank you, I fully thank you, for the manner in which you have received that remark—(*renewed cheering.*) for in this I have been misunderstood, and misrepresented; but while I say to our own people and those of our own faith, I never could forego the teaching in all its fulness what we believe to be true, I never will be a party to forcing it upon others. (*Applause.*)"

The Reverend Hugh Stowell commended the plan, advocated schools where the children of all classes could mix together, and denied that the plan in question was for teaching Church dogmas:—

"What he would say to the secular was, 'Yours is a negative conscience, ours is a positive conscience: now the infringement of a negative conscience is no hardship, but the infringement of a positive conscience is.' It would be a noble thing to see them getting rid of this negative conscientiousness and joining the present association; and he could truly say he would then fight as heartily with them as ever he did against them, and it would be a glorious day for Manchester and Salford, for they would have solved the grand problem, and success must attend their object." (*Applause.*)

The Reverend George Osborn, a Wesleyan minister, stigmatised the Public School plan as impracticable.

"He held that it was impossible to teach morality without touching upon the basis of men's religious convictions. In reality he regarded the struggle with the other system as one between Christianity and no Christianity—between Christianity and infidelity; and he proceeded to speak of a member of the council of the National Public School Association, who, he said, denied the existence of a God."

The usual votes of thanks were proposed, and the Mayor of Manchester took the opportunity of vindicating the gentlemen of the National Public School Association from the utterly uncalled for attack of the Reverend George Osborn.

The Queen left Holyrood Palace on Friday morning for Balmoral. The journey will be performed by rail as far as Stonehaven, and the remainder posted.

A telegraphic despatch from Vienna announces the death of the Duke of Saxe-Cobourg Kohary, elder brother of the King of the Belgians, at six o'clock on the morning of the 27th (Wednesday). Frederick, Duke of Saxe-Cobourg and Gotha, was born March 28, 1785, and was consequently in his sixty-sixth year. He married the Princess Antoinette de Kohary; he was a general of cavalry in the Austrian service, and colonel of the 8th regiment of hussars. He has left issue four children. The eldest, Prince Ferdinand, is the husband of the Queen of Portugal; the others are Prince Augustus, husband of the Princess Clementine of Orleans; the Duchess de Nemours; and Prince Leopold, major in the late duke's hussar regiment. The late duke was brother to the Princess Anna Feodorowna, widow of the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia; to the King of the Belgians, as above stated; and to the Duchess of Kent; also uncle to the reigning Duke of Saxe-Cobourg and Gotha, and to Prince Albert.

The *Times* publishes, from a private letter, additional particulars relative to the assassination of Miss Brunet, at a public ball in the theatre of St. Sebastian:—Now that the festivities are over, the only subject of conversation is the wretched young man who poniarded Maria Brunet. He is in custody in the fortress of the town. Those who have been acquainted with him speak favourably of his previous conduct. There is no doubt of jealousy being the cause of the crime. It appears he had been attached to the young lady, and no doubt he considered that he was slighted by her or supplanted. On the night of the ball he considered there was no doubt of the fact. He became exasperated, and committed the crime while his victim was in the act of dancing a polka. He stabbed her twice in the back; the first blow only grazed her skin, but the second went through the heart. Her death was instantaneous. The act was so sudden that her partner in the dance did not perceive it until she fell at his feet. You may easily judge of the confusion and the horror which it excited. The doors of the saloon were at once closed, lest the assassin should escape. There was no necessity, however, for these precautions; he presented himself at once, and told the persons present to give themselves no trouble; that he, and he only, was the person who committed the crime. You will not be astonished that almost all the ladies who were near the victim fainted. The son of the French Consul had presence of mind enough to draw the poniard from the body, but the moment he did so he fell also senseless. The mother of the young lady uttered the most frantic shrieks, and made desperate efforts to get a sight of her child. She was kept from doing so by her friends, and was taken home by force, while the bleeding body of the victim was deposited in an apartment close to the ball room, for the inspection of the magistrates. The funeral took place on Sunday. The assassin is a young officer of engineers. It is said that some of his friends wished to furnish him with the means of destroying himself by his own hand to escape a death of infamy. He has refused, in order, as he says, to die the death of a Christian; that his life does not belong to him, that he has taken that of another, and that he will leave his to the disposal of Heaven and of his judges. He expresses an earnest desire that his condemnation shall take place as soon as possible, and says that his sufferings are intense, and that he is weary of life. He continues to wear two shirt studs which the young lady had presented him with. He often tears them from his bosom, kisses them, and utters the most frantic expressions of sorrow and remorse. He has refused food of any kind, except coarse bread and water, and even this in the smallest quantity. The two or three first days he was not permitted to communicate with any one; he is now allowed to see some of his brother officers, and those who have been with him come away weeping. He is only twenty-four years old. His brother officers and chiefs are doing all they can to have his life saved. At all events his mind is gone; he has continually before him his victim, with whom he fancies he talks, and his complaints and his moans bring tears from the eyes of all who hear him. The hand of death is on him; if he die not by the hand of the executioner, he will die of grief before long. He was an only child; his mother had followed him in all his changes of garrison except the present. She idolized him, and all accounts agree that he was an excellent son. What a destiny!

The solemn dedication of a new Catholic church took place at Hartlepool on Friday, in the presence of Cardinal Wiseman, Dr. Hogarth, bishop of Hexham; Dr. Briggs, bishop of Beverley; Dr. Brown, bishop of Shrewsbury; Dr. Morris, bishop of Troy; and a large number of priests from various places in the neighbourhood.

The *Constitutionale* of the 22nd instant announces that Messrs. Aldborough have been, by order of the Austrian military Commander, delivered up to the judiciary authorities of Leghorn.

The Leader.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1851.

Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—Dr. ANNOLO.

MINISTERS AND THE CATHOLIC DEFENCE.

No question of religious doctrine is at issue in the continued, the growing struggle between the Government and the Irish Catholics. We are well aware that many well meaning people discuss the justice and policy of the present contest with arguments in their own minds against the tenets of the Roman Catholics. But that objection cannot be honestly or logically advanced now. There is no safety, or courage either, in compromises between real freedom of opinion and dictation—dictation being Absolutism in politics or Popery in religion. England abjures both, and cannot honestly or conveniently employ either. The question at issue is, whether all sects shall or shall not be free to hold, and to avow, their own doctrines, and to perform their own ceremonies and evolutions within their own pale? That question was settled at the time of Roman Catholic Emancipation. We then allowed that every sect ought to have such freedom. If, indeed, the Roman Catholics had attempted, or had threatened, coercion of some other sect, then the state might have intervened; but there was no such attempt or threat.

Were any question of doctrine at issue, we might find ourselves as heartily opposing some of the doctrines current among the Irish bishops and their friends as we are now heartily defending their rights to expound those doctrines and to act up to those doctrines themselves. Dr. Cullen is said to have conducted a periodical at Rome adhering to the Ptolemaic theory of the solar system, and we affirm his right to state that strange opinion; but, as our talking patriots would say, we "fearlessly" deny its truth. He speaks of "order" as the thing to be maintained, in the Neapolitan sense; he cannot recognize any "rising" of a People in defence of its rights; he upholds the present temporal policy of Rome and Naples: now we vindicate the right of a man to hold Tory and Absolutist opinions, and to obtain their adoption if he can; but we oppose them with all our strength. Meanwhile, we have no fear of any such reaction in England. If Dr. Cullen thinks that a Pitt-and-Pope policy is the true method to reinstate Catholicism in this country, he is not less grievously mistaken than the lunatic who proposed to roll back the globe for a few years, in order to revise and correct the conduct of the world, so that we might do it all over again in due order. We need not arm ourselves against any Pitt-and-Pope agitation; it won't do; it would only be a total failure, a "fiasco."

The Roman Catholics are following out what was permitted by the Relief Act of 1847, what was expressly anticipated by Lord Lyndhurst, expressly sanctioned by Lord John Russell, acquiesced in by Lord Minto. Suddenly the English Government changes, revokes its sanction, raises an agitation, and forbids what it had invited. The Catholics persevere. They have justice on their side; and when the English people witnesses the means taken to enforce a law of coercion against a sect, its doctrines, ceremonial, and offices, they will learn to appreciate the statesmanship and patriotism of the men who got up the agitation.

Meanwhile Ireland, that was advancing towards peace and prosperity through the rough ways of famine, pestilence, and eviction, is again involved in the old and worse than barren warfare of religious discord. The Roman Catholics, who were peaceably joining the new colleges, and profiting by national education, under the mild sanction of Archbishop Murray, now, under Archbishop Cullen, are enrolling themselves for "defence." The Whigs could not resist the temptation to get up a sham Anti-Popish tumult, as a political diversion for their own idleness; they could not resist Sir Frederic Thesiger and Mr. Walpole in making their trick a reality; and now they are reduced to a choice equally disgraceful on either side—to leave

the act unenforced and confess the trick; or to enforce the act, and plunge Ireland into civil war, with Liberal Ministers carrying on the campaign against "Popish recusants." They have thwarted the progress of wholesome opinion among the Catholics, they have broken the peace of Ireland, they have committed the people of England to a sectarian persecution. The people of England will see what other achievements their Ministers have in store for the national honour.

EXPLANATION OF PALMERSTONISM.

In the eventful year which Europe is approaching, it is most desirable that the English People should understand the position of its own Government towards foreign Peoples, which most assuredly is not always the one that People would desire. We will confess also a wish, that certain of the readers of this journal should understand our position in one particular branch of politics.

Few persons can be unaware that we are not by any means the only denouncer of Lord Palmerston, as a Foreign Minister who systematically perverts the influence of this country. Mr. Urquhart, the Member for Stafford, has long been engaged in the exposure of the Foreign Secretary, and he made out a very strong case; but he has had an ill success, which we ascribe to two very serious faults in his mode of treating the difficulties inherent in the subject. We have made our readers, in brief, familiar with the peculiar traits of Lord Palmerston's career—his liberal professions, his zeal for freedom and English influence, contrasted with the results of his activity—the failure of freedom and the decline of British influence; the strangeness of this uniform inversion of result being magnified by his retaining, nevertheless, all the aspect of success. Thus has it fallen out after his activities in the case of the North Eastern boundary, of Sicily, Greece, Rome, Turkey, Spain, Lombardy, Schleswig-Holstein, Naples, Hungary, &c. Yet all the while he is one of the cleverest of his craft, and is evidently a man succeeding!

That Lord Palmerston's conduct was calculated to defeat the professed object of his activity in each case where we have followed Mr. Urquhart's exposition, appeared to us to be made out as clearly in the many ways which we have watched for ourselves. But in affairs where secrecy is maintained, the case must unavoidably rest upon circumstantial evidence; and it always appeared to us that Mr. Urquhart neglected to recapitulate such evidence with sufficient breadth to make it appreciable to the public mind. His other mistake was yet graver: to believe that an English gentleman, so little betraying the signs of an uneasy conscience, could be a traitor to his country and the agent of a foreign enemy, was a supposition not only extravagant, but wanting verisimilitude. To prevent all mistake of our view, let us say we do not believe any such thing, and never did.

But a key is given to the whole mystery when we note what is likely to be Lord Palmerston's position in the diplomatic craft.

Likely to be, we say, because you must bear in mind that it is a secret craft, and that whatever may be known of it in general, particulars are only known retrospectively. In the reign of Victoria, we have memoirs revealing the intrigues of a Walpole, the activities of a Harris; in the reign of King Albert, our children will probably devour the secret memoirs of a Nesselrode and a Palmerston.

The Diplomatic profession is in some respects different from any other. It deals almost entirely with Governments rather than Peoples: hence it is official rather than national. It deals with international, more than national affairs; hence it is withdrawn in a great degree from national feeling. Its members are the servants, not only of Cabinets, but of Courts; hence not *entirely* the servants of either; although, collectively, diplomatic men may be said to incline to the interests of the royal classes. But by the influences of esprit de corps, of self-interest, and of habitual training, diplomatic men are most of all bound to maintain one very important interest in Europe—that is, Diplomacy itself. It is natural that they should be impressed with the value of the services which Diplomacy can perform for the great of the globe, with its power, with the importance of its modes and routines, with the power and merits of its able professors. The secrecy of the corps helps to enhance all its peculiar traits. Diplomacy thus forms a sort of masonry or guild, with interests apart from the interests of nations, courts, and kings; and mostly, like all exclusive interests, *hostile* to the interests of Peoples. It is ascribing no dishonesty to any professor if we

believe that, devoted as each may be to his "royal master," each is most of all impressed with the paramount necessity of maintaining intact the one power that bestrides the world without exclusion of boundaries: to each Diplomatist the paramount duty is to maintain unimpaired the super-royal, super-national power, Diplomacy.

In this duty the humblest may and do help; and amusing stories might be told of the naïve zeal which all show, from the newest recruit to the oldest veteran, in that first of duties. It is laughable to watch the eagerness in raking up court gossip or political tittle-tattle; and then, when something has been collected, hoarding it up in secrecy, lest it should spoil by exposure; and at last working it up in a despatch, and sending it home as "exclusive intelligence." It rivals the penny-a-lining for the daily journals. By the help of honourable penny-a-liners resident at foreign courts, your skilful Minister is often able to daunt some troublesome Member, who states facts to extort information, but is "inaccurate"—he mistakes a name, a date, or a place; and in its omniscience, Diplomacy strikes him with shame before the edified representatives of the People.

But there is a further source of power. Within the circle of this guild there is an Inner Circle, accessible only to the highest, and to a certain extent self-elected. Any Court or Cabinet, it is true, may appoint a gentleman to the highest diplomatic offices; but admission to the Inner Circle depends upon the guild itself, or rather upon the Inner Circle itself. It does not at all follow that, because a man is appointed by his Sovereign to be Foreign Minister, or Ambassador, or Envoy, that he is, therefore, admitted to that Inner Circle. Probably an Aberdeen or a Normanby would be too simple or indiscreet for such initiation. Specific knowledge of this Inner Circle is necessarily very imperfect indeed; its members are not ostensibly distinguished from others—they do not put P. G. M. to their names; the rules of their body are not known, perhaps are not recorded. One indirect means which such a body has to obtain the appointment of its own members to ambassadorships and bureaux is the comparative success which any one belonging to the body can command through the rest.

In order to render their power more efficient, and to extend their influence at home, there is reason to suppose that the members of the Inner Circle are allowed very great licence in their outward demeanour. As Jesuits were permitted to acquire familiarity with the worldly, so a master in Diplomacy may mix with Liberals, and behave as if he were of them; and yet, so far from losing the confidence of his fellows in the Inner Circle, he only acquires more trust and esteem. There is reason to believe that his fellows in that Circle will even help him by feigned contests and "protests"; so that the public shall suppose one man to be going to dangerous lengths in resisting a Nesselrode here or a Schwarzenberg there, and yet the drama shall be only part of the whole plan for effecting that which has been already arranged by the Inner Circle, and which ultimately comes to pass.

Nations may have their ambitions; Courts may issue their mandates; Cabinets may have their policy, give instructions to their Envoys; diplomatists will negotiate, will remonstrate, will write angry despatches; Peoples will rebel; Ministers in "Liberal" countries will sympathize with Liberal movements, will lend countenance or aid; fleets will move and armies march; the race will not always be to the swift, nor the battle to the strong; but in the end, the catastrophe will be such as falls in with the views and interests of the Inner Circle of Diplomacy; each member of that Circle may be ostensibly thwarted as a conqueror, shamed as an Absolutist, baffled as a Constitutionalist—but each will have succeeded in his corporate capacity as a member of the occult fellowship. It is not Russia that has been paramount, it is not Austria, still less England: it is the Inner Circle.

The geologist traces the lines of the strata which crop out here and there, and in the intervals dip far beneath the ground. The astronomer calculates the orbits of the heavenly bodies from the portions that come within the scope of his glass. Many facts to which we have alluded are before the world. The public has seen one of the ablest diplomatists that ever lived repeatedly defeated in his ostensible enterprises; it has seen him uniformly wearing the air of habitual success; it has seen British sympathies consulted and gratified by the *apparent* countenance given to Italy, unac-

countably withdrawn; it has seen "British influence" unaccountably destroyed in the very operations that professed to uphold it; it has seen, after "Austria," "Russia," "Prussia," and "England," were all but at war, the Diplomatists of those countries seeking each other's cooperation in unbroken faith and amity; public opinion has been much mystified by all these visions and harlequinades, and has often rushed to the conclusion that there was "treachery" somewhere—that the Great Bear of the North had bought up the services of Ministers in other countries, and so forth. But all is explained, without "treachery" or wonderment, if you concede that our hypothesis of Diplomacy, its extra-national position, its technical methods, and its Inner Circle, is an approximate description of the paramount power in Europe.

One remark. Absolutism reposes great and natural trust in the Diplomatic guild, and benefits greatly by the secrecy preserved to that privileged corps. Liberalism and the veritable nations can derive but little benefit from a corps thus constituted, and none whatever from the secrecy. The acquiescence in secrecy is the great privilege which repays to Diplomacy the licence accorded to its members in playing a Liberal part among a Liberal nation.

The game is not over yet. Kings and Kaisers have been meeting at Dresden, at Warsaw, at Ischl; next month the Emperor of Austria will be at Verona receiving Italian Princes; Croat and Hungarian soldiers hold possession of Lombardy; Italian conscripts "coll' aquila in fronte," maintain Austrian supremacy in Bohemia; Russia has an army to lend for the control of Hungary; Prussia has rejoined the "Holy Alliance"; the Pope has his priests in France upholding the powers that be, and France is propping up the Pope in Rome—the crippled idol of the Seven Hills; English soldiers are kept safe at home, and it is only Lord Palmerston's protests that overrun the plains of Lombardy and Hungary with harmless victories. Different climes, different races, different courts, different interests—all sacrificed to the few families called "Royal." Unity of result in such diversity of circumstance implies unity of cause; and there is throughout all this seeming confusion, one agent—secret in its ways, few in its numbers, manageable to Princes, most of all manageable to itself; that one agent is Diplomacy; with its initiated representative quite at home in each country, from autocratic Russia to liberal England. Are we to wonder, then, if we should find in the arrangements to be made at Verona only the sequel to those already made throughout Europe, for the rehabilitation of effete families, bankrupt Governments, and detested despotisms—for the maintenance of the power which is viceroy over the royalty of Europe—the guild, which lives on the delusion of senates, the extinction of patriots, and the oppression of Peoples?

That craft is now busy in reestablishing throughout Europe the very principles which Charles the First attempted to sustain in England, and which our forefathers destroyed when they cut off his head; "the most Liberal Minister" of our Cabinet is P. G. M. in that masonry; and the Liberals of England, the descendants of Hampden and Elliot, are maintaining that Minister at his post!

CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE AGENCY.

THE immense advance of Association within the last few years consists, we should say, in the perception of its being a question for the present as well as the future. We are all aware that a right understanding of the principle received a great impulse in the French revolution of 1848, when it obtained the recognition of the State; but we are not less conscious that it has made a still more extensive and remarkable progress within the last year. It is now a matter of daily discussion; many newspapers, both in London and the country, are receiving it into gradual favour, converts are daily coming in, the number of Associations is multiplying. The reason of this progress we take to be that the public has had its attention fastened more upon the principle than upon particular plans; by that means it is perceived that the principle is capable of immediate application, without waiting for a general change of society; that it can be applied, indeed is applied, in a variety of ways; and the more we understand it, the more we discover how the principle itself suggests means for its immediate and easy application. St. Simon required the authority and machinery of the State; Fourier required a great accumulation of capital, and an elaborate machinery for the development of

each phalanstery; Louis Blanc possessed the working-people of Paris with the idea of applying the principle in the spontaneous association of working-men; it is to Proudhon perhaps, and his Bank of the People, that we must trace the first suggestion of a central connection, although, looking at the generally demolishing character of Proudhon's mind, we are disposed to ascribe the constructive part of that idea to his associate, Jules Lechevalier.

The idea of spontaneous association was an immense advance; indeed, it established the connection of the great principle of concert, with the actual state of society, and taught the working classes that their redemption was within reach of their own will. Associations have existed for nearly twenty years; but a general development of that form of coöperation must be dated from 1848, and must be ascribed to the influence of Louis Blanc's writings. The history of the Associated Piano-forte Makers in Paris shows what the working classes may do if they have sufficient strength of will and self-denial. The more prosperous Associations in Paris have also illustrated the fact that the principle of concert operates powerfully and beneficially in developing the moral and intellectual state of the associators, as well as their material resources. But the difficulties to be encountered at the outset cannot be overlooked; they may be measured by the hardships which the poorer workmen have had to undergo; they have been amply repaid in the sequel, and we have no doubt that as the practice of Association advances, even the preliminary difficulties in the way of each new enterprise will be diminished. One difficulty—that of supporting the individual workman, is met in some of the Paris Associations by the plan of admitting enrolled candidates who are allowed to earn wages, while they are working out the capital which they must add to the common stock. In England, Association labours under the factitious difficulty opposed by the laws which regulate partnerships, companies, &c.; but a Cabinet Minister has recognized the right of the People to associate, and has promised an amendment of the law accordingly. That, difficulty, therefore, will be swept away in some future session. In the mean while we have established the *right* of Association. Another difficulty almost insuperable in some branches of industry, and formidable in all, is the raising of sufficient capital. We know that there are working-men in the iron trade who would gladly associate, if it were possible to command the capital for the purpose. Even if they get the capital, the difficulties are not quite conquered; capital does not necessarily imply custom, though custom does imply capital. A man who has orders in his pocket can always obtain credit for the means and appliances necessary to execute those orders; but although endowed with a full allowance of capital, the man who opens a shop may do so with no result but that of being in debt.

These difficulties may all be conquered by prudence, perseverance, and activity; but the victory is immensely facilitated if the several Associations can be connected in business by means of a Central Agency. Association enables the working-men to be their own capitalists; a Central Agency enables them to be their own merchants and customers. The mode of doing so is in the main obvious enough; for it is evident that, if the different branches of industry are organized, a machinery for enabling them to deal with each other easily and economically must proportionately increase the efficiency of each. Such an Agency supplies to each ready access to the rest of the round of trades. One of the abuses of the present system is to multiply unduly the number of intermediate hands busied about each article of production, on its path from the producer to the consumer; an abuse which would be checked in the simplest manner through a machinery enabling the Associations to deal with each other by wholesale. That the disposition to coöperate in purchasing exists extensively among the working-classes, is manifested unmistakably by the fact, that there exist in this country already more than 100 and probably nearer 200 coöperative stores. A very simple illustration, however, will show at a glance how much the formation of stores would be advanced in facility and efficiency by the help of a Central Agency. In order to the commonest mixture of tea, for each pound access must be had to three chests, worth £36. In like manner, for sugar, access will be needed to two hogsheads, worth £60 or £70. Probably a store could not be furnished under £300; and that amount must be prepaid. When a store was established at Roch-

dale 1700 persons joined in the undertaking. Now a Central Agency, furnished with the means of dealing in articles of common consumption, would be able to supply these to the several Associations about the country on account current. It is evident that such an agency, with its branches and allied stores, would conduct the whole traffic which concerns imported articles, with an economy not otherwise available to working Associations.

But it would have not the less powerful influence in developing the productive energies of the Associations. In this case, too, the process is simple, obvious, and easily understood. Each Association, dealing with a central body for consumable or imported articles, would probably remit the payment in money—say £50 a week or more. But the central body could inform the local Association that instead of notes the remittance might be made more beneficially in the staple produce of the place to which the Association belonged; a Rochdale Association, for instance, would receive a hint to send its remittances in flannel. The Rochdale men would soon perceive that with this profitable exchange, with the certainty of demand, with the guarantee of credit, and with the opportunity afforded of saving out of their wages, it would be both expedient and practicable for them, not only to make the flannel, but to obtain possession of a mill to make it in. Here we have the Central Agency exhibiting its second function in developing the practice of working Association.

But it has yet two other functions to perform. One of the advantages of Association is the security against adulteration; that canker of corruption which is notoriously eating into the very substance of retail trade. This guarantee is beautifully, because simply, illustrated by the working of the People's mill at Leeds, in which the poorest shareholder is able to command the very finest flour, made under his own eyes from the finest corn in the English market. The greatest table in the land does not enjoy finer wheat flour than that which is supplied habitually to each Associate of the People's mill. The principle of concert furnishes exactly the same guarantee in the case of every other article; and the Central Agency, by its intermediation, can reciprocate that guarantee to all Associations. By the same process it would impart to the whole commerce of Associated industry, that high character for "sterling" quality, which the general trade of England has consented to lose under the pressure of competition.

It is probable that this enhanced character would of itself obtain for Associated commerce an amount of custom, which would not on other grounds be transferred from Competitive commerce. Several of the Paris Associations receive orders from the country, and are thus extending their business very widely; to obtain these orders the agents of the Associations make tours of the country—an office which would be in great part performed by a Central Agency. It is tolerably certain also that many who desire to aid the efforts of the working-classes in self-improvement, would do so by giving their custom to the Associations; the more readily since that kind of assistance is effective without involving large sacrifice. Canvassing of this kind can be best carried out by a Central Agency.

Entertaining these views as to the capacity of a Central Agency for giving prompt and active development to the system of spontaneous association, we cannot withhold our approbation from the intelligent and practical scheme which has recently been placed before the public. It is a remarkable evidence of zeal when we find men like Vansittart Neale, a gentleman of fortune and high connections; Thomas Hughes, a barrister, related on every side to the respectabilities; Jules Lechevalier, an author, of practical experience; and Joseph Woodin, a practical trader, united in an enterprise calculated to have so much power in developing the Associative principle.

PROGRESS OF ASSURANCE.

APPLICATION OF THE ASSOCIATIVE PRINCIPLE.

LIFE ASSURANCE is taking strong hold upon the people. It is exhibiting its popular phase. It is no longer conducted by a "Company," but by a "Society," an "Association." It is not as in *olden time* a mere commercial speculation, offering a reversionary advantage; but a body full of benevolent vitality, securing benefits to the assured himself, as well as to his survivors; proving a friend on many an occasion of emergency, and scattering innumerable blessings to all who will accept them. The complaint may still be well founded, that the people do not avail themselves

freely of Assurance; but our own experience teaches us that it is because, until lately, the principles have not been thoroughly popularized, nor has there been any resolute attempt to make the subject understood.

It has been with the greatest gratification that we have learned the influence of the articles on Assurance which have appeared in the *Leader*, in securing the interest of many who had previously given no attention to the subject. Several assurances have been effected by those who had been wholly unaware how Life Assurance could be of any benefit in their individual circumstances. It was, indeed, with this hope that we commenced the series of articles; but hopes are not always fulfilled. In this case, however, we have ascertained that the endeavour to elucidate is followed by the adoption of the benefit elucidated. We have referred particularly to those Associations which, based upon the principles of concert and combined operation, become institutions for the dispensation of benevolence, rather than to those which were simply reversionary and established as a speculative tontine. We rejoice to know that there are actuaries who have a far higher view of the principle of Assurance than is exhibited in the construction of merely lucrative tables; men whose efforts are rather directed to the noble enterprise of developing the blessings of an Associative principle, which has for a long time been worked to mere selfish purposes.

We will prove that we are not making an idle boast. Some months ago we referred to the "Trafalgar Life Assurance Association" as an important development of plans which had been latent, and which were as beneficent to assurers as they promised to be pecuniarily advantageous to shareholders. There are two facts which offices should bear in mind—that only 250,000 lives are assured out of all our millions of population, and that of these the major part are for temporary purposes. It is quite evident that Life Assurance required popularizing. It was essential that it should offer advantages to the person assured while living, as well as to his representatives after death—that it should secure him from destitution as well as his family. Upon this liberalized view was the "Professional Life Assurance Association" founded, and a still further extension of the principle established the "Trafalgar." That we did not overrate the importance of the new and popular principles evolved by the "Trafalgar," and that the public have been, as we anticipated, not slow in taking advantage of them as assurers, or lending them a helping hand as shareholders, is proved by a circular we have just received. It is stated that in the short period of seven months, the 25,000 shares representing its capital, are entirely and unreservedly disposed of amongst a proprietary of nearly 900 persons residing in almost all parts of the country; that the directors are unable to meet the further demand for the shares; and that in this short period 216 policies have been issued, creating an income of £2200 a year!

Thus, even among Capitalists, the beauty of the Associative principle is becoming every day more recognized. Men perceive that blind selfishness is neither their duty nor their interest. Why is the "Trafalgar" thus successful? Simply because its principles are unselfish, associative, and benevolent. In every department it goes on the strong principle of Concert. Its risks are diluted among so many, that they vanish altogether. Instead of cramming the pockets of its directors with shares, it spreads them over an extensive proprietary. Instead of selfishly appropriating the profits to that proprietary, it calls up no more capital than is essential for its business. It secures its assurers from even the assumed risk of a "Mutual" Institution, but it secures the whole profit to the assured so soon as the assumed risk is removed. The result is, that in seven months it has 900 shareholders, and has issued 216 policies.

Our object in referring thus much to the "Trafalgar" is to show, not only how the principle of Concert must be gaining ground in the hearts of those who, perhaps, are little aware of the new heaven which is working in our Society, but also how Life Assurance is becoming understood and appreciated by the public. This will be seen by contrasting the rapid success of the "Trafalgar" with the progress of its able pioneer, the "Professional." The capital of both companies is the same. The "Professional" shares were all subscribed for in three years. Those of the "Trafalgar" in seven months. At the first annual meeting of the "Professional," held in 1848, it was

announced that, in eleven months from its commencement, 101 policies had been effected, giving an annual income of £1015. The "Trafalgar" in seven months issues 216 policies, affording an annual income of £2200. In eleven months, on the average of what it has already done, the "Trafalgar" will have effected three hundred and twelve policies. Yet at the second annual meeting of the "Professional," in 1849, a dividend of 5 per cent. was declared upon the paid up capital; and it was announced, that the whole of the preliminary and other liabilities had been discharged, leaving the Association only its current expenses to provide for. At the last annual meeting it was stated that 1155 policies had been issued, and that the premium fund, after deducting all assurances lapsed by death, amounted to upwards of £11,450.

When, therefore, we see the extension of principles which it took three years to establish, now adopted in seven months, must we not regard it as an evidence that the advantages of Association for mutual benefit are becoming appreciated, and that Life Assurance is beginning to be understood? What agents might these 900 shareholders be, scattered as they are throughout the country! What blessings might they confer upon their fellows in their own circles, while they secure the high prosperity of their associations! So easy is success when worked out by combined operation! Even one policy per annum for £100 from each of these 900 shareholders, would secure a sufficient fund for all the administrative expenses of the office. And who is there among them that has not within the sphere of his influence the power of securing one policy per annum? A man could scarcely employ himself more philanthropically than by constituting himself a missionary of assurance among his friends or those over whom he has any influence.

The poor man now knows that if he put by a shilling a week for twenty years he would get but £52; while a shilling a week, invested from the age of twenty in a policy of assurance, would secure £100 to his survivors. Or, otherwise invested, he may receive, on attaining the age of sixty-five, an annuity of £47 16s. 6d., or a cash payment of £394 11s. Even under this latter table, two-thirds of the payments may at any time be withdrawn on deposit of the policy: and should the party not survive to the specified age, two-thirds of his payments will be returned to his representatives.

The figures are taken from the tables of the Trafalgar Office; but although they may be peculiar to that association, we have now a right to say that the working man has the full benefit of assurance placed within his reach. It is evident that every extension of the principle adds to its safety; and the success of the "Trafalgar" will encourage the development of a liberal and enlightened system of assurance. The success should also be a subject for satisfaction among all those assurance offices which have adopted the popular principle of Concert. The interest of one is the interest of all; the experiment of each is the experience of all. The field open to each is a field open to all; and even the advocates of Concert will not grudge the first fruits to those who have had the faith and courage first to try the field.

M. CHARLES HUGO AND FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

THE letters of M. Victor Hugo and his son, M. Charles Hugo, in acknowledgment of the expression of sympathy from our side, are full of significance to those who watch the many-troubled currents of this stream of Time which is hurrying our century to unknown issues. They denote more than one new and striking fact. They are the reply of the persecuted Press of a country which has not deemed three revolutions too great a sacrifice in the cause of liberties so often won from tyranny, and so often wrested back by treachery, to the free voice of respectful sympathy from a Press which claims to represent the great English People in their hatred of injustice, illegality, and oppression, and in their onward march to a brotherhood of nations, bound by a common hope and sympathy.

The Governments of France and England have been often in hostility; the Peoples, had their political education been more complete, would have known that it was the policy of the Kings to divide, but of the Peoples to unite their forces against a common foe.

The last revolution, or rather the reaction that stifled it, has taught the necessity of a closer union

in the presence of the throned conspiracies of despotism.

On sweeping away dynastic intrigues in 1848, France and England made friends. From the first days of the revolution France counted upon English support. We are still too exclusive in our love of liberty. We almost grudge to foreign Peoples the conquest of rights such as our own forefathers bled and died to wrench from usurpation, such as generations of our ancestors have not, without many a struggle and many a reverse, bequeathed for an inheritance to us, enlarged and adorned by many a renewed victory.

We glorify our own stability, forgetting the pains and perils of the dead, and unmindful of our present manifold social miseries to be punished or redeemed. Within our borders, indeed, we are not slow to perceive the duty of reciprocal defence against all inroads upon the freedom of the individual; but we have not yet thoroughly learned how the liberties of nations demand a common and reciprocal protection. We rejoice that this occasion has been seized to declare a new and awakened feeling, and a more generous and enlarged spirit. We, of the *Leader*, are glad to hail our brethren of the French Press as true colleagues and coöperators in the great work of social reparation. We are working out, in the same spirit, the same problems of religious and political philosophy, we do not say with equal power, but with fraternal sincerity. We admire the Press of France, which, in the midst of obstacles so vexatious, indefatigably and fearlessly strikes deeper the furrows of the new science: ever fertile in conception, bold in initiation, varied and ample in resources, brilliant and skilful in polemical discussion, under a Government which suborns its own journals to preach violence and illegality, and punishes with fine and imprisonment any independent voice raised in behalf of humanity, and in abhorrence of the scaffold.

Here we find a young man of rare promise—not twenty-one years of age—who already wields his pen with strength enough to make the guillotine totter; and for expressing his abhorrence of the institution, after an execution more than usually brutal in its incidents, he is cast into prison for six months. Imagine Charles Dickens indicted for an article against Capital Punishment. The condemned article of M. Charles Hugo is as remarkable in its dignified moderation, and in its respect for Law, as it is striking and able in composition, and picturesque in language. But in punishing the son, those models of political probity, MM. Baroche and Léon Faucher, struck at the father, under whose indignant oratory they had so often quailed. Victor Hugo was the intended victim.

May this expression of sympathy be not only a consolation to the father and the son, but a true earnest of "the communion of two great Peoples in an idea of humanity"! M. Charles Hugo has the modesty and the good taste to forget the person in the principle. But what a condition of government his words, "the expiring liberty of the French Press," reveals! We bid him take courage. Reaction is for a moment, but liberty is as eternal as Justice. France will not return to the good old times of 1751.

HOW TO DEAL WITH THE DEBT.

A FRENCH political economist of last century remarks that the only solid proof which England can give of her strength is the extinction of her public debt; and such, he adds, is the patriotic zeal of Englishmen, that he would not be surprised to see them exhibit the singular spectacle in the eyes of astonished Europe of discharging the whole of the national debt by voluntary subscription. This was before the American war; at a time when the debt was only about £150,000,000. Since that period £700,000,000 has been added to our incumbrances by George III. and by that "Heaven-born Minister" who plunged us into a European war to save us from "the dangerous infection of French principles"; to say nothing of additions of those austere economists, the Whigs. But if the debt has been more than quadrupled since the time of this eulogistic prophecy, the national ability to pay has also greatly increased, although not quite in the same proportion. According to the best authorities the real property of Great Britain is now worth about £2,000,000,000 more than it was at the beginning of the American war; so that, while the nation has incurred £700,000,000 of debt, the savings and increased value of

land from progress of population and other causes amount to nearly three times that sum. If the owners of that property were all as public spirited as Sir Francis Blake, a Northumberland landowner of the last century, who proposed that every man should take his proportion of the debt, he offering at once to contribute his own very considerable share of it,—we might soon get rid of the incubus. But such patriotism is rare in these days. Before men of property can be induced to contribute a fair share of what they possess to avert national bankruptcy, or national deterioration which must rapidly lead to that result, a little pressure must be employed, and for that purpose we must have a strong Government.

Rather more than twenty years ago, when the Whigs were not quite so timid as they have latterly become, their Quarterly organ recommended an assessment of 12 per cent. on the capital of the kingdom, in order to cancel one half of the National Debt. If that estimate was correct in 1827, we may fairly conclude that less than 10 per cent. would suffice for the same purpose in 1851, considering the great increase of capital during the last twenty-four years. In his *Progress of the Nation*, Mr. Porter estimates the whole of the real property assessed to the property and Income Tax, assuming it to be worth twenty-five years' purchase, at £2,382,000,000. As this does not include properties of less yearly value than £150 per annum, we may add one third more for them, which will make the total value about £3,200,000,000. An assessment of ten per cent. upon the whole of that property, and also upon the whole of the money invested in the public funds, to be paid in ten yearly instalments, would enable us to cancel more than one half of the National Debt before 1861. Such an assessment will be deemed monstrous by men of property at the present day, and yet it is a much less rate than their ancestors were obliged to pay in the last century. Under Queen Anne the land tax of 4s. in the pound produced nearly as much as the whole amount derived from taxes on consumption at the same period. In 1851, the taxes on consumption are ten times heavier than the taxes on land.

And now let us see what advantages the nation would derive from this arrangement. A reduction of the National Debt would reduce our expenditure by some £15,000,000 a year, leaving, of course, an equivalent sum in the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. With such a surplus at his command, he would find no difficulty in abolishing and reducing taxes to a far larger amount than that. He might commence, for example, with a reduction of the present enormous duty on tea, lowering it the first year to 1s. 6d., the second to 1s., and finally to 6d. per lb., at which rate it might be allowed to remain for some time. The effect of this on our trade with China would be worth a property tax of 6d. in the pound for that purpose alone. And yet the cost of this great boon to the commercial and manufacturing interests would probably not exceed one-fifth part of the saving which would be effected by cancelling one-half of the National Debt. With the remaining surplus as it gradually accumulated, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be able to make an annual reduction of taxes to the extent of nearly £2,000,000 a year, and thus give relief to trade, reduce the cost of living, and by promoting the demand for labour, render the condition of the working-classes so much more tolerable than it is at present, as to make them feel themselves nearly as comfortable here as they could be in any other part of the globe.

RAILWAY COMPETITION.

LAST week we heard Mr. Glyn, of the North-Western, denouncing railway competition as foolish and ruinous; this week Mr. Evelyn Denison sings a similar song. But the peculiar characteristic of the business is, that neither company is able to avoid competition. They are hurried into it, they continue in it, they carry it to great lengths, they deplore it, and they cannot help it. Efforts have been made, and negotiations entered into between the rival companies, to divide the territory, and charge the highest fares consistent with the highest dividends; but in vain.

Now, this appears to us a poor result. It has been proved that low fares are the most productive fares. Directors will never charge very high fares again. It is against their interest. It is clear that concert between those companies would bring about a state of things equally beneficial to the public and shareholders. Competition is, and always will be waste; the more excessive the more apparent. Concert alone will bring about pure gain to all.

Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review.*

GERMANY has lost two of her illustrious thinkers, OKEN, the philosopher, and PAULUS, the Rationalist. LORENZ OKEN, who was in his seventy-third year, will be known to many of our readers as the originator of that theory of cranial homologies which has effected so great a revolution in anatomical science. His discovery of the skull as a continuation of the vertebral column—of its being, in fact, nothing but a congeries of four vertebrae, as the brain itself is but a congeries of nervous ganglia—will immortalize his name; but if any unwary man of science opens the *Lehrbuch der Natur Philosophie* with the expectation of studying a work of positive science, he will be considerably astonished at finding Nature subjected to the forms of SCHELLING's metaphysics; nor will he be reconciled to its startling formulas by OKEN's assuring him, that where "God is called Fire or Water, these expressions are only to be understood symbolically—*nur symbolisch zu nehmen seyn.*" The British reader is the last to learn with patience that, "Nothing exists but the Nothing: *es existirt nichts als das Nichts.*" Nor can you pacify him by the assurance, that *Nichts* does not mean no existence, but means no special phenomenon, the only true existence being *The Absolute*. He very properly discards such "metaphysic wit"; and when OKEN teaches that, "God is the self-conscious Nothing; Creation is but God's act of self consciousness; and that God came first to his self consciousness through the spoken word *λογος*, the world. If God did not think, there would be no world; nay, he himself would not be"—when we say OKEN teaches him in all seriousness such "high arguments" as these, the British reader is apt to ask, "My dear Sir, how do you know all this?"

A Translation of OKEN was published by Mr. TULK among the works of the Ray Society, and excited both astonishment and merriment in England. But, as we said, OKEN's name is indelibly associated with a great advance in science; to his labours we owe the admirable researches of Professor OWEN, and no amount of German metaphysics can quite obscure his renown.

PAULUS, who for more than half a century has been a distinguished name, who has published upwards of thirty different works, and given us the best edition of SPINOZA, was born in 1760 (not 1761, and at Lemberg, not Leonburg, as in the *Times*), and a friend writes to us that he saw him in Heidelberg about a year ago, when he was lively and talkative, bearing his ninety years with ease. PAULUS was a man of truly German erudition; and, with EICHORN, PLANCK, and LESSING, one of the leaders of Rationalism, which has ended in STRAUSS and BRUNO BAUER—unless we are to carry the influence further, and leave it in the hands of FEIERBACH and MAX STEINER, avowed Atheists.

MIGNET's *Life of Mary Stuart* appears simultaneously in French and English, and that is the only important work French literature offers just now. Among the curiosities announced we observe this—*Les Affiches Rouges, Réproduction exacte et Histoire critique de toutes les Affiches ultra-républicaines placardées sur les murs de Paris depuis Février, 1848.* It will doubtless be very interesting.

Brussels sends us some novelties this week. Among them a cheap reprint of MIRABEAU's correspondence with COMTE DE LAMARCK, noticed recently by us; a new novel in two volumes by EUGENE SUE, with the attractive title *Miss Mary*, which promises fun; a tale by HENRI MURGER, called *Claude et Marianne*; and volumes iv. and v. of *Ange Pitou*, by ALEXANDRE DUMAS.

BALZAC's posthumous comedy *Mercadet le fai-*

seur has been produced and saluted with immense applause. It is another variation of the *Robert Macaire* type; but as *Mercadet*, not content with dabbling in the funds, adroitly makes a pedestal of his defence of Religion, Family, and Property—the shibboleth of Order—M. LEON FAUCHER (feeling no doubt that he himself, and such as he, are stigmatized by the satire) interdicts the performance. The Censor allowed it to pass; M. FAUCHER—pure and virtuous creature!—sees in it an attack on public morality. To satirize the FAUCHERS would indeed imperil Order! FAUCHER the upright, FAUCHER the truthful, FAUCHER the zealous defender of public morals, cannot permit hypocrisy to be unmasked, for is not hypocrisy the homage paid to virtue? The curious point in this affair is that when MOLIERE under a despotic monarchy satirized the hypocrites of Religion, the outraged hypocrites were unable to prevent the performance of *Tartufe*; but now under a Republic the political hypocrite can prevent the performance of *Mercadet*. His susceptibility seems the greater from the fact that not only did the Censor suffer *Mercadet* to pass without suspicion, but even JULES JANIN, generally so keenly alive to the "tendency" of a piece, has not a word to say against it. Poor France!

THE SECOND REFORMATION.

The Second Reformation: or Christianity developed. By A. ALISON, Esq. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

"THREE centuries have passed away since Luther and Calvin founded the Churches of the Reformation. But glorious as their work will ever remain in the eyes of the world, subsequent experience has taught us that their Reformation is neither complete nor destined to be final." This is Mr. Alison's opening sentence, and it raised our hopes. That Luther's work was not final—that another and deeper reformation awaits the Church, we have incessantly proclaimed; and our hope was that in Mr. Alison (mistake him not for the Alison the Magnificent, sheriff of Glasgow and Tory historian) we had found an ally. As far as honest desire to get at the truth, and to state it without equivocation can make him an ally, Mr. Alison is one; but he would assuredly reject our cause, and seek for another issue from the difficulty.

The issue he seeks is in the study of Nature and the light which that study will throw on Scripture. Stated thus broadly, the principle is our own. But our differences early manifest themselves in the application. He insists upon the necessity of clearing the mind from all Superstitions, and the method he conceives to be simply this:—We must teach men that *all events are natural*—in other words that there are no miracles:—

"Since the Christian epoch there has not occurred a single well-authenticated case of a miracle, or an exception to the uniform and established course of Divine Providence. This is a fact to which all men who have studied Nature will assent; and we venture to add, that no Protestant will deny the general truth of our statement. We shall presently find, however, that doctrines are held which clash with belief in a system of general providence; hence few Protestants can afford to agree to the statement that all events are natural. In short, the Churches of the Reformation commit the inconsistency of denying miracles and believing in them at the same time. . . . At the first Reformation, when science was little known, belief in miracles of daily occurrence, or in a Special Providence, was unavoidable; for until science was evolved in the mind, there was no other way of accounting for events. The time, however, has arrived when it is impossible any longer to refuse credence to science, or to disregard the revelations of Nature. And what is the revelation which Nature invariably gives?—That God governs man by general and not by particular laws. This is the grand discovery of modern times."

All this we hold to be very sound; but Mr. Alison does not seem aware of its extended application. If miracles are to be denied, why is the primary miracle of revelation to be accepted? A miracle is a special interference; but special interferences imply weakness or inconsistency in the general laws. It seems to us, therefore, that unless you accept the Catholic belief of special interferences (and Protestants do accept it in their "Special Providence") you must take the other alternative of the Spiritualist School and reject miracles altogether; not this or that miracle, but all miracles. If general laws do without exception rule the universe, and no special interference be credible, then

Revelation as a special interference is not credible. Does this alarm you? Then accept the Catholic alternative of special interferences and contemporary miracles!

Truly enough, the work of Luther was not final! But how are we to complete it? What is the burden laid upon our age? In Luther's time the great conquest to be gained was the liberty of private judgment—the annihilation of the presumed spiritual barrier between the clergy and the laity—the vindication of the right of every human soul to interpret Scripture for itself; the individual responsibility being too solemn a thing to be left to vicarious aid. There was Revelation, and Luther claimed the right of every man to interpret it. He protested against the authority claimed by the Church as overriding the authority of his own calm reason. What the Bible told him, that and that only would he believe, let Churches dogmatize as they pleased.

As long as no one thought of doubting the authenticity of this Revelation, the Protestant Church had an easy office. Liberty of private judgment was conceded—though with ill grace. But when that judgment issued in a verdict against the Bible—when free thought, nourished by Science, grew into decided antagonism to the Bible—when men pointed to the Revelation of Nature as a source of eternal fact which, if any other Revelation contradicted it, must irresistibly set aside that other, and quash its claims—then the task of the Reformed Churches became terribly complex. Such it is now. Mr. Alison does not see this. He argues as if the task were simply as of old, a purification of our theology in its Scriptural interpretations. He speaks at some length on the subject of miracles, of good and evil, of grace, &c., but he never alludes to the vital question of the Scriptures themselves; and yet this passage, one would think, ought to have led him directly to it:—

"The doctrines of Protestantism were fixed at the Reformation, when Europe was just emerging from the darkness of the middle ages. These doctrines were embodied in the articles of faith of the various Protestant Churches; thus Theology became stereotyped, and it has ever since effectually resisted improvement. The centuries that have since elapsed have increased knowledge tenfold; hence, while science has gone on advancing, theology has been left behind; and the longer this false position of the Church is permitted to stand, the greater will the separation become. If man is a progressive being, knowledge, both sacred and secular, must progress; for what is man apart from knowledge?"

"Theology, like Nature, is unchangeably true, but man's knowledge of both is progressive. The Sacred Record does not change, but the knowledge we are able to draw from that volume does change. During the dark ages the laws of Nature were unknown; every event narrated in Scripture was ascribed to a miracle, and that simply because they had no other means of accounting for events. The best proof that this was the position of the early Church is, that they applied the same rules to every event that happened in the affairs of life.

Our position is very different; we take up the very same Bible as they did, but we draw very different results from it. Nothing is more clear than that our knowledge of religion must be progressive like every thing else; and it is because we have raised up artificial barriers to this natural progression, that we find ourselves met by increasing difficulties and inconsistencies. Could we arrest the march of intellect and of science, then we might stop the progress of religion. Progress may be impeded, of which the unalterable creeds of our Churches is a notable example, but, thanks to God, it cannot be stopped.

"When all checks to religious progress are removed, improvement will obtain in the Church, in proportion as secular knowledge increases; and the gulf which now so widely separates knowledge from faith will gradually close. Theology and science will then be reconciled and go on hand in hand, and science will enlighten and enforce religion. That we should find errors in a Church conducted upon the false principles we have specified, is what was certain to occur, and what might have been predicted at the time the Protestant Church was first instituted."

But although a serious writer, impressed with a sense of the present anarchical condition of Christianity, Mr. Alison has nothing to bring forward which the world will care to hear. He is in earnest, that is all. Neither as a theologian nor as a philosopher can he arrest the attention of the most docile reader. Scattered up and down his volume are some sensible remarks, and some ambitiously stated truisms. The portion which pleased us most is the comparison made between the Two Churches, from which we extract this bit on

MIRACLES.

"The doctrine of a Special Providence is carried to a much greater extent in the Romish Church than

with the Protestants. With the Romanist it is avowed; while the Protestant acts upon a belief which in principle he denies.

"The Catholic is certainly more consistent than we are, although his consistency, being erroneous, is worse than our inconsistency. This consistency on the part of the Catholic gives him a great advantage in debate; for with it he finds no difficulty, in ordinary cases, of persuading his opponents that the worse argument is the better reason. He frankly avows his belief in miracles, and challenges the Protestant to prove that there are no miracles.

"If the Protestant owns belief in some miracles, he is asked why not believe in one miracle as well as in another? for there is as much evidence for the exercise of this power in one case as in another; and if a miracle is admitted in one case, it may as reasonably be granted in another. The Protestant is thus caught; for in admitting any miracle without evidence, he can assign no reason for disbelieving any other miracle, however absurd.

"If the Protestant professes disbelief in all miracles, he is asked what conversion is? Is that effected by natural or supernatural means? If he declares conversion to be natural, he contradicts the Thirty-nine Articles of his Church; and if supernatural, he admits miracles, and has no right to find fault with the Catholic for a belief which he himself owns. Here again he is beaten. The Protestant answer is—

"We grant that the institution of Christianity is supernatural, but experience teaches us that its effects are natural; and being such, there is no warrant for belief in miracles either external or internal."

"The creation of the world is supernatural, but its operations are not; so Christianity is a supernatural creation, but its operations are natural.

"The Bishop of London, in a late charge, cautions the clergy on this very subject: and what does he advise? Neither to admit miracles nor to deny them—and neither to be guided by reason nor apt to renounce it—which is just advising the Church to have no opinions."

MARIAN WITHERS.

Marian Withers. By Geraldine E. Jewsbury. Author of "Zoe," "The Half Sisters," &c. 3 vols. Colburn and Co.

SOME time ago, among the *on dits* of literary gossip, there was one purporting that Miss Jewsbury was writing an answer to *Mary Barton*—a novel of Manchester life, which should restore the figure of the manufacturer to that pedestal from which *Mary Barton* had, as it was supposed, so sternly smitten it. *Marian Withers* is the novel is question; but such a design as the one alluded to, if ever it actuated the authoress, must early in the composition have given place to a larger and truer design, that, namely of portraying Lancashire life in its varieties of good and bad, coarse and elegant, serious and frivolous, hard-hearted and considerate.

As a picture it has many merits: first and foremost that of presenting the *realities*, not ideals and jay figures. But partly from the extent of her design, and partly from deficient attention to composition, the novel has become sketchy and straggling, to the detriment of the general effect. The various episodes are independent sections, hooked together, not related to each other; and this scattered mode of composition produces an unsatisfactory impression compared with the excellence of the separate portions.

In John Withers we have the struggle of Genius with Circumstance. Placed on the lowest step of the social scale, he raises himself by manful toil and inventive genius to the position of a master manufacturer, respected by all and loved by his men. This is a fine type, and well studied. Miss Jewsbury has told his story with marvellous intuition into the inventor's feelings. But having given him a position she leaves him there, and throughout the rest of the novel he occupies but an insignificant place. This we cannot help regarding as a mistake. John Withers the workman is a man of genius; one of those who willingly submit to the tyranny of Great Ideas, who are martyrs or victors. But John Withers the victor is simply a sturdy, honest man—that is all. Why is this?

In Marian Withers, his daughter, we have the simple-minded girl of our day, raised above her parents and her parents' friends by a more refined education and the desires springing therefrom. She serves to bring out the characteristics of the two classes of manufacturers: the coarse rusticity of the one, and the imitation of metropolitan elegance of the other. Very vividly this is done, though at somewhat too great length. It has not enough influence upon the heroine's character or fortunes to occupy so large a space in her story.

In Hilda and Glynton and the figures grouped around them, we have the odious picture of "a good match." Youth, beauty, life, hope, all sold 'o age, decrepitude, and a fortune! Other aspects

of married life are presented in Mrs. Arl and Lady Wollaston. The story of Albert Gordon's flirtation with Lady Wollaston growing into a mutual passion and ending in such ignoble tragedy is, after the story of John Withers, the most deeply interesting portion of the book. She is a glorious creature, painted with a loving and a cunning hand; Albert is somewhat indistinctly drawn, but his position is intelligible enough. One scene we must give. Lady Wollaston's husband has been ordered with his regiment to Ireland. The idea of parting from Albert is intolerable to her. Up to this time she has resisted all his entreaties, all the solicitations of her own impulses; but now she resolves to be his, and writes a passionate letter to him, announcing her intention of coming to him and sharing his life. He is alarmed at the idea, and writes back a cowardly evasion:—

"Lady Wollaston, meanwhile, sat crouched in a large chair, beside the fire, stupified by the very intensity of her emotions, and unconscious of the lapse of time.

"A knock at the door roused her; it was her maid, with Albert's letter. She read it quite through. She did not shed a single tear, but sat in the dull terror with which she would have viewed the solid ground open beneath her feet. That Albert, in whom she had believed so firmly, should have written such a false, insolent, and above all, so vulgar a letter, seemed like the impossibility of a bad dream.

"The wreck of her own personal happiness did not affect her. She was crushed beneath the overwhelming sense of the worthlessness of the idol she had made.

"On looking at the letter a second time, the insulting allusion to a renewal of their acquaintance roused an indignation which burned up every other emotion.

"Conscious that she had virtually forfeited all claim upon her husband's protection as much as if her offer had been accepted, with a wild instinct of integrity she started up, and half mad as she was, went straight to the room where she knew her husband was engaged in writing on regimental business.

"Sir Frederick looked up from the mass of papers before him, extremely surprised, and somewhat alarmed at the apparition of his wife's pale, stern face.

"For God's sake, Helen, what is the matter? Are you ill, or mad?"

"I am neither; I wished to speak to you this morning; but you had no time to listen—to-night, I must be heard."

"Well, well; sit down and tell me what you have to say; but do not look so dreadfully calm—you might be leading a 'forlorn hope.' What has happened?"

"Lady Wollaston, in a hard, steady voice, that sounded as if it came from an automaton, began with the account of the ball at Mrs. Arl's, the night of the opera, and with the mechanical fidelity of a daguerrotype, she named every incident that had occurred between herself and Albert since that time, down to the letter she had received an hour before, which she gave into his hand.

"It was certainly a very astounding revelation to call upon a husband to listen to; and although the substance of his wife's confession did not take Sir Frederick altogether by surprise, yet he felt none the less embarrassed at having the truth so unexpectedly thrust upon him.

"He walked up and down the room in great perplexity, not at all knowing what to say that would be appropriate to the occasion.

"Bless my soul, madam! but this is an extraordinary tale you have been telling me;—what do you think yourself that you deserve?"

"I have no right to remain any longer under your roof—if you wish to send me away, I am ready to go. You will assign your own motive to the world for the separation."

"It is an awkward business," said Sir Frederick, resuming his walk. "I do not want the world to be gossiping upon my family affairs. You ought to have considered the position in which you were involving a family of high standing, like ours, by your cursed, fantastic, romantic folly. Hang it! madam, it is not as though you had been the wife of some petty shopkeeper, whose obscurity would have been a protection against disgrace. To have contemplated an elopement with a worthless fool, like that Albert—why, heaven and earth!—only consider how it would have read in the paper!—Really, Lady Wollaston, I never took you for a fool before."

"Sir Frederick had worked himself up to a high pitch of irritation in contemplating the possibility of such a contingency,—far beyond that which the actual occurrence itself would have caused,—provided no one had known of it. He resumed his walk up and down the apartment in chafed and annoyed silence. Lady Wollaston sat, without speaking or moving, looking fixedly at the fire.

"I do not see what I can do in the matter," resumed Sir Frederick, at length. "I cannot fight a

man for refusing to run away with you; and I am not disposed to excite impertinent curiosity by fixing a quarrel on him—a jealous man, I take it, is a fool—at least, he is always ridiculous.

"Now listen to me!" said he, stopping before her, after a few more turns, during which he had appeared to be taking a resolution; "I never found you in a lie, nor in an equivocation, during all the years we have lived together; and if you can assure me, on your honour, that matters went no further than you have told me—I'll forgive you, and the world need be none the wiser!"

"Lady Wollaston winced under the promise; but she looked up, and replied quietly, 'I have told you everything.'

"Well, then, say no more about it. I will never mention again what has passed to-night; only, for the future, I entreat you to observe more discretion—remember you do not stand alone in the world—others are compromised as well as yourself. You have not gone and made any confidences on this subject to Mrs. Arl, or to any one else?"

"No."

"This is well; but your last letter, and possibly others besides, still remain in the hands of this young man. I will see that they are restored to you. Upon my honour, madam, you have had a fortunate escape! I own that your choice of such a man is what surprises me the most in this business. You cannot be aware of the small respect in which he is held amongst other men: no one believes a word that he says."

"Lady Wollaston writhed under every word her husband spoke. Her position (deprived of the halo of romantic passion which had disguised its true aspect) was inexorably humiliating.

"If her husband had desired revenge, he could not more effectually have devised it. She made no attempt to retort upon him the encouragement he had himself given to Albert, nor the friendship he had professed for him. She sat in silence until it should please Sir Frederick to end the scene.

"And now," continued Sir Frederick, "you had better retire, and endeavour to obtain the repose you must greatly need."

"She rose, and her husband opened the door for her with great politeness.

"If the truth must be told, in spite of his annoyance at her folly in perilling her own reputation and his position in the world, he had not felt so cordially disposed towards his wife for many years. She had shown an amount of feeling for which he had not given her credit, and she had placed him in a position of great superiority over her;—he felt that he need never stand in awe of her again.

"The next morning, before Lady Wollaston had risen, her husband requested her presence in her dressing-room.

"His clothes were splashed with mud, and bore evident tokens that he had come off a long ride. He had in his hand a small sealed packet.

"This," said he, handing it to her, "contains your correspondence with Mr. Albert Gordon. I need not tell you that I have not seen it. You will do well to ascertain that your letters are all of them there."

"She broke the seals—a faint odour of violets exhaled from the letters.

"Like one in a dream she looked over the letters.

"Well, are they all right? none missing?"

"They are all here. Do you choose to read them?"

"Not for the world!" said Sir Frederick, with energy; "they are yours, but I think there will be no advantage in keeping them."

"A strange smile passed over Lady Wollaston's lips, as she said bitterly,

"They are of no value,—not even to their owner."

"One by one, she dropped them into the fire that was burning brightly. On the outside of one of the letters, which she recognized as having been sent a few days previous to their last interview, she observed sketches of ballet-girls done with pen and ink. It was a small circumstance, but it destroyed her last illusion. Sir Frederick saw it also, but made no remark.

"And now, Helen," said he, taking the hand that hung listlessly at her side, "we will never recur to this affair. I believe in my heart every word you have told me, and I think none the worse of you for what has passed. The best of us do wrong sometimes; and I own I have not behaved always as well as I might have done; but I have always respected you, and let us see if we cannot be happier together for the future. Do not give another thought to a fellow not worthy to speak to you."

"Lady Wollaston withdrew the hand her husband held, and said,—

"I will never forget that you stood by me when I had lost all claim upon you."

Very powerful writing that, and new in its dénouement, though perfectly true. The conclusion of her story is very touching.

In Mr. Cunningham we have another type. The

travelled thoughtful man of our day, deeply interested in the condition of the working-classes, and perfectly free from the prejudices which obstruct the light from so many minds:—

"The rights of property" and "the rights of labour" are beginning to stand up in opposition to each other," replied Mr. Cunningham, "there will be a struggle, but there will be peace at last. The "rights of property" are already in possession of the sympathies of society; the other is looked upon as a "word of fear;" all the sympathies and fears of society are engaged by the selfish sense of the need of protection at any price. The only idea of safety is that of consecrating and recognizing the claims of property, and of treating as seditious and incendiary all attempts to recognize the rights of labour—treating as wild theorists and dangerous to society those men who would attempt to speak in behalf of those rights. A struggle has commenced already between the past and the future, which must be fought out in the battle of the present. We are at once both spectators and soldiers. The advocates of the rights of labour may seem to be vague and embarrassed in their movements—even ridiculous; but Truth endures for ever and ever, and her judgment is not pronounced all at once; the whole meaning of the struggle is only unveiled by degrees; that which to-day seems absurd will gradually seem more reasonable as the idea matures and is worked out."

"Ay, that's quite true," said John Withers, "many's the thing we look on as a matter of course to-day which when I was young would have sounded fairly crazy,—and to be sure, people may say in newspapers now what they would have got into trouble for years ago."

"Both sides, in the struggle that is now commencing," said Mr. Cunningham, "have right on their side; neither of them need annihilate the other to insure a triumph, but antagonism is the only process by which a fresh growth is possible in this world. The majority of mankind are prone to have no belief except in what is actually done and accomplished, which is very fortunate for the stability of society. New ideas, even though possessing some heavenly truth, are, when first announced, wild, vague, and unstable; they require to be purified by the opposition with which they meet—to be sifted like wheat. By this process they become more and more practicable and rational; they assimilate more and more to the real heartfelt desires of mankind, and in the end they take their stand among the realities of life, the truths for which men will henceforth fight and die, and hold fast against all attempts at innovation. It is curious to trace this progress of a principle, from the first day when it was uttered almost unconsciously by its promulgator, through the travail and struggle and persecution which give it shape and strength."

"Then, the ideas that the working-classes are getting about their rights and their claims, is one of those which are fighting to be recognized?" said John Withers.

"It is in the throes of its birth," said Mr. Cunningham; "but it has, nevertheless, got itself seriously propounded. What is this right of property? It is the recompense earned and deserved by work that has been accomplished. What is the right of labour? It is that each should have the power to accomplish work. It is in the name of themselves and their children that those who already possess, fight to preserve that possession; and it is also in the name of themselves and children that those who have nothing claim the possibility of obtaining something. But society, which is a mother to those who already have, is a step-mother to those who have not. The present has duties undoubtedly towards the past, which has asserted itself; but it must also listen to the claims of those who are struggling to assert themselves."

"What should you say was meant by the rights of labour?" asked John Withers.

"The rights of labour claim the power of full development of all the faculties—the lessening and removal of material obstacles in the way of producing labour. It is very easy to exalt the legitimacy of absolute property, because the idea of the dignity of labour is not very widely spread, or at least not felt, and the opposition between the two is made sharper, because it is very sweet to the self to conquer privileges, as it places him directly in the ranks of the privileged; and it must be owned that the actual aspect of labour and of the labourer is not attractive, except to men truly religious, who work from a higher motive than that of immediate success, or personal gain and loss."

He elsewhere says, with truth:—

"When the education of the lower classes is spoken of, it is always treated as a kind of edge tool which must be sheathed in dogmatic religious instruction, as otherwise it would cut the fingers both of those who receive it and those who have rashly placed it in their hands."

In fact, Mr. Cunningham is the spokesman of most of the serious thoughts which Miss Jewsbury wishes to set forth, and many quotable passages could we gather from his conversation, but have only room for this upon love:—

"Oh, yes," said Marian earnestly, "I am sure that the only happiness worth calling happiness in the world must be to find some one to love with all our heart and soul, and to be the whole world to each other. If I once found any one who would let me love as I could love, would it not go on strengthening to our lives' end?—would not all duties, all employments, follow naturally, as flowers grow after the seed is sown?"

"Your dream is that of all young and loving natures," said Mr. Cunningham; "but you only seek after emotion, and all the *ennui* and melancholy you complain of is nothing but the craving for it. Love is the purification of the heart from self; it strengthens and ennobles the character, gives a higher motive and a nobler aim to every action of life, and makes both man and woman strong, noble, and courageous; and the power to love truly and devotedly is the noblest gift with which a human being can be endowed—but it is a sacred fire that must not be burnt to *idols*. You fancy, my dear Marian, that a devoted passionate love would win similar devotion in return; but it is not so. No human being can bear the weight of an entire and undivided affection without staggering under the burden. At first this complete abandonment of yourself to your emotion may seem grand and devoted; but the object of it becomes weary, and when the stimulation of vanity has ceased, you will be thrown back upon yourself, broken with disappointment and humiliated to your very soul by finding that all your most precious things have ceased to be of any value. If you will examine thoroughly into your own heart, you will find that, bitter as this sounds, there is a reason; a *fact* is always true. There is idleness and weakness at the root of this apparent generosity. You are averse to the discipline of self-control, and no human being is, or ever can be, exonerated from this duty, imposed by Nature herself. You expect another to sustain the full tide of your undisciplined energies—to guide you to that duty you refuse to do for yourself. Self-control, self-discipline, is the first law for both man and woman, from which no power can give a dispensation. Your present suffering arises mainly from having failed in this duty towards yourself. My dear child, it is only God himself who is entitled to say, "Give me thine heart,"—and on him alone can we fling ourselves with all our weakness and our dependence."

Marian Withers claims attention for its eloquence, its knowledge of life, its originality, its straightforward dealing with *realities*, and general elevation of tone; but it is deficient in breadth and unity, and is not equal in depth or in interest to *The Half Sisters*, which, however, was a work of unusual power.

CARPENTER ON REFORMATORY SCHOOLS.

Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes, and for Juvenile Offenders. By Mary Carpenter. Gilpin.

THIS valuable work indicates clearly the peril to which Society is exposed through the number of children suffered (in spite of all the efforts of the friends of education) to grow up in ignorance and crime. The authoress has brought to her task great benevolence of feeling towards the unhappy subjects of her inquiries, and an unwearied spirit of investigation into all sources of information relative to their condition, and the existing efforts to improve it. She examines the statistics of crime among the juvenile portion of the community; their mental and moral deficiency; the loss sustained by society through their crimes, and the expense of punishing them; the unfitness to their case of the present educational machinery, which can alone be met by the establishment of Reformatory Schools. She contrasts the condition of children untaught and uncared for, with that of those who have benefited by the advantages which the present limited efforts for their reformation afford:—

"Look at them in the streets, where, to the eye of the worldly man, they all appear the scum of the populace, fit only to be swept as vermin from the face of the earth; see them in their homes, if such they have, squalid, filthy, vicious, or pining and wretched, with none to help, destined only, it would seem, to be carried off by some beneficent pestilence; and you have no hesitation in acknowledging that these are indeed dangerous and perishing classes. Behold them when the hand of wisdom and of love has shown them a better way, and purified and softened their outward demeanour and their inner spirit, in schools well adapted to themselves."

The spirit in which the schools of reformation must be conducted is shown in the following extract, the severity which characterizes the gaol system being too often found to counteract all the efforts made to improve the character in those receptacles of youthful criminals:—

"Love must be the ruling sentiment of all who attempt to influence and guide these children. This love must indeed be wise as well as kind; but it must

be so evidently the pervading feeling of the teacher to his charge, that no severity on his part shall alienate them from him. Truly has it been said, 'There is one great instinct in every human breast, a weary longing for kindness from our fellow-men, and delight in finding it.' But to children it is an absolute necessity of their nature; and when it is denied them, they become no longer children. None can tell but those who have witnessed it, the responsive love which is awakened in the heart of one of these forsaken ones by a kind look and word, or the purifying effect of the feeling, now by many experienced for the first time, that they are 'loved for themselves.' Love draws with human chords far stronger than chains of iron. While in the education of the young generally this element is a most essential ingredient, yet if wanting in the school it may be supplied in the home;—but here? if these poor children have a home, it is but too often one to crush rather than cherish any feeling of affection, and towards society in general, at any rate the more favoured portion of it, we have already seen that 'their hand is against every man, and every man's hand against them.'"

The results of the ragged and free-day school movement, partial and imperfect and impeded by sectarianism as it has been, are shown to offer sufficient encouragement to the adoption of more general and better-organized efforts to establish a system of sound industrial training.

"A way has been opened—a means has been shown of reaching these outcasts. Many hearts have responded to a call for aid which they could understand. The rich and titled have felt their human sympathies awakened by coming into actual contact with the wanderers of the highways and by-ways, and high-born children have been pleased to serve the tables of the lowest in the land. There may have been much that was unnecessary, much that was unwise in what has been done, and in the manner of doing it; but it has tended to establish the practical conviction that we are all of one human family; and that as such, the strong ought to try to help the weak; that we have all common sympathies, common destinies; and that the givers of the most precious gifts will be even more blessed than the receivers of them. An active stimulus has, by this movement, been given to exertion in the right direction, which requires only to be wisely guided to do great good."

The closing chapters are peculiarly interesting, showing on the one hand the inadequacy of the gaol and Parkhurst system to reform offenders, and on the other the great success of the efforts of the Philanthropic Society and the Stretton School, in England; of M. Demetz, at Mettrai; Count von der Recke, at Dusselthal; and J. H. Wichern, at Hamburg. The difficulties under which these two last-named institutions labour are shown to be that of obtaining funds necessary to the necessities and usefulness of the establishments, and that of their being no legal power of detention residing with the master. The necessity for this provision and these powers is fully recognized in the report of the Lords' committee.

"Upon one subject the whole of the evidence and all the opinions are quite unanimous—the good that may be hoped from education—meaning thereby a sound, moral, and religious training, commencing in infant schools, and followed up in schools for older pupils; to these where it is practicable, *industrial training should be added*. There seems in the general opinion to be no other means that affords even a chance of lessening the number of offenders and diminishing the atrocity of their crimes."

"The committee, therefore, deem that they should not be discharging their duty if they did not earnestly press these momentous subjects upon the opinion of the Legislature. Without raising any speculative questions on the right to punish those whom the State has left in ignorance, it may safely be affirmed that the duty of all rulers is both to prevent as far as may be possible the necessity of punishing, and where they do inflict punishment to attempt reformation."

MONK'S CONTEMPORARIES.

Monk's Contemporaries. Biographic Studies on the English Revolution. By M. Guizot. Translated from the French by A. E. Scoble. (Bohn's Cheap Series.) H. G. Bohn.

AMONG the many excellent works which Mr. Bohn has issued, those of the Cheap Series have almost always been of a lighter cast than this grave volume of biographic studies. But although the manner is high and serious, the matter is relieved by the interest always felt in biography; and we call attention to this volume as one both suggestive and entertaining. As Guizot says:—

"In order properly to understand a revolution, we must consider it at its origin and termination—in the earliest plans which it puts forth, and in the definitive results which it attains. In these its true character is revealed; by these we may judge what were the real thoughts and wishes of the people

among whom it took place. All that occurs between these two periods is more or less factitious, transitory, and deceptive. The stream winds and wanders in its course; two points alone, its source and its mouth, determine its direction.

"Just in this manner, during the course of a revolution, parties are formed and transformed, divided and subdivided, and seize the empire by turns, to lose it again each in its turn; but that is really the national party which appears at the origin and termination of the crisis—which, after having begun the war and endured all its vicissitudes, finds itself, at last, strong and wise enough to restore peace."

He has written the history of our Revolution in sketching the lives of the Revolutionists; for we must not forget that all parties were revolutionary in those days—the Cavaliers by their denial of right no less than the Parliamentarians by their assertion of it. The studies here presented are of Denzil Holles, Edmund Ludlow, Thomas May, Sir P. Warwick, John Lilburne, Fairfax, Mr. Hutchinson, Sir Thomas Herbert, John Price, Lord Clarendon, Burnet, Duke of Buckingham, Sir John Resby, with notices of the *Eikon Basilike* and the Memoirs of James II.; a sufficient variety to enable the author to exhibit all the facets of the diamond.

Of course the historian predominates over the biographer. Guizot has little interest in the dramatic portions of his subject. His severe, historical mode of viewing events—as if he were always seated in the professor's chair—little inclines him to dwell upon the more romantic traits, although he does not altogether forget them. But his main object in each case is to write a moral from his theme—to make it teach or illustrate some principle. This gives a gravity and a value to his sketches not to be found in memoirs generally.

From a book so cheap as this, it is almost needless to make extracts; but we cannot resist one as a good specimen of the general remarks which enhance the volume:—

"England has enjoyed its season of national gaiety and pleasure. This was during the reign of Elizabeth, when religious excitement, occasioned by fear of foreign invasion, arose in the very midst of the English Reformation. The condition of the people was still one of difficulty and agitation—liberty was far from complete, public prospects were uncertain; nevertheless the country was free from civil war, and seemed to be preparing itself for approaching prosperity. The Government possessed the confidence of the nation: the Queen, though often tyrannical, was popular and respected. In a time of such tranquillity there was no lack either of employment or of recreation. With the exception of the Puritans, then a small and obscure sect, the minds of the people, although active, were not absorbed by any one passion, nor committed to any regular system. They gave a ready reception to ideas and adventures, from whatever source they might be derived. In the pursuit of fame, wealth, or pleasure, no expense was spared, no difficulty seemed insurmountable. At court and among the people, alike in the cottages of the poor and the mansions of the rich, there was diffused a general taste for society, whether festive or serious; the peasant had his rustic, the noble his sumptuous, festivals. Luxury with the great was gay, though pompous; the poor also found their circumstances no hindrance to mirth. In London, both the higher and lower orders flocked to the theatres to witness the performance of Shakspeare's dramas; in the country, they listened to the strains of wandering minstrels. Banquets and games almost daily relieved the monotony of labour and the constraint of religious solemnities. It was a time of great moral and political turmoil, but of free and happy movement, in which all seemed young and fresh;—a time at once peaceable and threatening, when society, as yet exacting little, was nevertheless full of ambition, curiosity, and hope.

"When Charles I. ascended the throne the stream of progress had increased, and England was much changed. The religious spirit had extended itself, and had become excited and gloomy. The spirit of liberty, gathering intelligence and vigour, sought to express itself, and spoke loudly of its rights and expectations. In the place of that unsettled and so to speak floating activity, ready to recognize, and even to serve, without any consideration of payment, a glorious and formidable national power, there arose on all sides determinate ideas, ardent passions, undeveloped factions, a tendency to scorn and oppose King James and his ignoble Government. In proportion as the country had become exacting in its requirements, and severe in its habits, power had become arrogant in its pretensions, and dissipated in its morals; and the court pageantry which, under Elizabeth, had so greatly excited popular curiosity and admiration, was, under her successor, an object only of reprehension and disgust.

"Charles I. invested royalty and its adjuncts with an imposing exterior. His character was dignified,

his manners grave, and his morals pure. But things remained in all essential respects the same. The court, always brilliant, became more and more estranged from the country. The haughty nobility, indolent and impoverished, thronged round the Prince, seeking only advancement and pleasure. The King's favourite, the Duke of Buckingham—an arrogant, haughty, pompous, frivolous man—trafficked with the power and wealth of office, as if they were only valuable as a means of purchasing the subservieny of his creatures and gratifying his individual caprices. The Queen, Henrietta Maria, desirous of preserving unaltered the habits in which she had been nurtured, busied herself in the endeavour to introduce at Whitehall the customs, pastimes, and ideas of the Court of France; considering absolute power necessary to kingly dignity, and Catholicism the only religion becoming a Prince. Poets, literary men, and wits, frequented the court in search of opportunities of display for their talent, distinction for their vanity, and pensions for their poverty. More excuse may be found for these than for other courtiers; for the tastes and pleasures of intellect create a certain noble and gentle fascination, which severs the imaginative man from the citizen, and fills his fancy with visions of those occupations alone which charm, and those protectors alone who encourage. In the midst of spectacles, elegant conversation, festivities, masquerades, in which all the court shared, in animated and brilliant clubs, where the successors of Shakspeare met, and where Ben Jonson still presided, they easily forgot the ship-money, the controversies of the Puritans with Archbishop Laud, and the just though gloomy dissatisfaction of the country."

A warning should be entered, however, against the high authoritative trenchant manner which is peculiar to Guizot, and which sometimes covers either a miserable sophism or an audacious absurdity. For example, he says, in his grand way:—

"But men introduce disturbance into positions which Providence had consecrated to order."

This is simply foolish. How can he presume to tell what Providence has consecrated to order? and, granting that the case were clearly made out, what does he mean by man *thwarting* God—making a disturbance of what God had ordained should be order? If there be meaning in his aphorism it is that God willed order and Man willed disturbance, and Man gained the point! Such a meaning he would repudiate. Then why that lofty sentence, which seems to throw the revolutionary leaders into open conflict with Providence? Aphoristic writing has its charm and its effects. It also has its dangers; M. Guizot does not escape them.

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

Ordination, Matrimony, Vegetalia, and Extreme Unction, Theologically Considered, by the Reverend D. M. Hallbert, M.A., Priest in Holy Orders, and Member of the Senate of Cambridge, Painter.

The orthodox views on the two first and the last subjects treated of in this volume are stoutly maintained by its reverend and industrious author, who goes beyond many writers on his own side, in asserting the *duty* of matrimony in all cases, and in treating as evidences of want of faith those prudential considerations for its postponement or avoidance which the necessities of our present state of society are too often supposed to involve. Like most controversial works, the estimate of its success or failure will much depend on the prepossessions of its readers; but none can deny the piety and earnestness with which, in language frequently rising to eloquence, Mr. Hulbert advocates opinions, at times in advance of those of his own party, and opposed, we believe, to the true principles of religious freedom.

In the treatise on *Vegetalia*, or Taxation, the author recommends the extinction of the National Debt, by the appropriation of the sum at present paid annually as interest to the gradual reduction of the principal. He vindicates the right of the State to have recourse to this measure, by reference to the fact of the interest having repeatedly been reduced by successive enactments; and in glowing language anticipates the advantages which would accrue to society, not only by the extinction of the debt, but by the bare announcement of its being the State's determination to extinguish it. We question whether the patience of the suffering classes will endure, during the period necessary for the accomplishment of his scheme, which he estimates at thirty years. They must, however, be grateful for the way in which their wrongs are recognized, and their emancipation advocated, by a man of philanthropy, of sincerity, and of zeal.

Desolation of the Sanctuary and Times of Retitution, a Course of Lectures designed to show that the First Christian Church has come to its end, and that a New Church is now being established. By the Reverend Robert Abbott, Minister of the New Church, Norwich. Hodson.

This book will be particularly acceptable to the members of the Swedenborgian Church, its aim being to trace from the earliest times the deviations from what is held to be the truth by that communion, on the part of Christians in general.

Portfolio.

We should do our utmost to encourage the Beautiful, for the Useful encourages itself.—GORTON.

TRIALS AND TROUBLES OF A POOR WORKING ASS.

"For you shall find his vanities foreshadowed
Were but the outside of the Roman Brutus,
Covering discretion with a coat of folly."

PART I.—MASTER AND MAN.

It was noon. The farmer's cart was waiting at the roadside opposite his house; and the Ass was making an uncomfortable dinner, standing as he was between the shafts, on the dusty gorse-bushes in the hedgerow. "Ah!" said he to himself, as a bee came buzzing among the flowers close to where he was munching, "that is a happy fellow, to sing at his work like that! There is a great honey-bag, half as big as himself; and away he goes from flower to flower, with his heart as light as his wing—as if there was no better fun in life than to be filling it and carrying it!" There was such a wistful, wondering expression in his face as he kept watching the Bee, that at last the latter perceived it.

"What is the matter, old fellow?" said she, as she glided up, and pitched on his nose. "You do not look as if you half liked it. No wonder, with those nasty gorse prickles running into your lips. Come with me over the hedge into the meadow. I'll show you where there is grass—long grass, and clover so thick, you may eat all day for a week together; and for every mouthful you take, two will grow up in its place."

The Ass attempted to smile, but he could not manage it: it had changed to a tear before he could get his answer out, and then he could do no more than utter the one word "Master," as he pointed with one ear to the door of the house; and then, turning the other to the farmer in the field to which the Bee was inviting him, and revolving it significantly on its pivot towards his back, tried to give the Bee to understand that his sides would pay for it if he ventured on such a liberty.

"Master!" said the Bee, "what is 'master'?" The Ass opened his eyes very wide. "Master," thought he, "she does not know what 'master' means. No wonder she is light-hearted."

"That is master yonder," he said, "and I am his ass; and if I go with you he will beat me."

"Beat you!" said the Bee; "beat you? Then why don't you sting him; your tail is long enough?"

"Ah!" said the Ass. "Yes, it is long enough; but it is empty enough, too. I am afraid. It is good for nothing but to flap the flies off. There is no harm in it."

"Well, then, haven't you horns? What are those long things on your head? Is there nothing inside them? Make the creatures afraid of you, Ass: that is the way to be respected. If I didn't use my sting, those little rascally boys would treat me no better than if I was a cockchafer."

"You are much littler than me, Bee—a great deal littler; and if you can make them afraid of you, I am sure I ought. But I can't. If I look fierce, they only laugh at me. I haven't got any horns, Bee. Those long things are ears. They say asses are meant to do what they are told; and so we have the biggest ears of any of the creatures to help us to hear with. I might kick; but I only tried once. That was when little master tied the sting-nettle under my tail. But I didn't do it well, I suppose; and I didn't get any good by it: he only put a thorn-bush there instead."

"Poor Ass!" said the Bee. "Poor fellow! This is a rough world for those that can't help themselves. If you had my spirit inside that big body of yours, I think we would do something."

"I can do something," said the Ass. "Now and then, when it has been very bad, I have looked round in master's face—and, I don't know why, but somehow, he has left off beating me so badly for that time."

"Try it now," said she sharply, as a noise behind her made her look quick round, and she saw the farmer climbing into his cart. "Try it now."

But she spoke too late. Down sat the farmer—whack down came the whip, and the poor donkey couldn't restrain a groan as he got heavily into motion.

"Good morning," buzzed the Bee. "You manage your way; I manage mine. Every body to their taste; but I think mine is the best, though."

"Don't go yet," said the Ass, as he got into his trot: "it is such a pleasure to hear a kind voice. Don't go. . . . Get on my back, and I can give you a lift. If you are afraid of the whip, get into my ear; you will be safe enough there; besides, I shall be able to hear what you say so well."

The Bee, after finding that the Ass was going her way, and that she wouldn't be giving herself any extra trouble, had no objection; so she stowed herself away, and they began to try to go on with their talk. But she soon found that, however well the ass could hear what she said, she couldn't hear a

word of his; so she crawled down on his nose, and told him so. The Ass suggested that she should get into his mouth; but she said she was so sweet that she was afraid the temptation might be too great for him. At last, to please him, and because he begged so hard for a little more of her pleasant company, she said she would go back to his ear and tell him a story, which, if he really could hear it to good purpose, she had no doubt would be of service to him. So after again nestling herself comfortably down, and making a few preludatory hummings, she began as follows:—

The Bee's Story.

"Soon after bees were first created, a number of our ancestors settled themselves in an island some way out in the sea. The common bees were not the clever workers which we are; and the drones being at that time, from their advantage of sex, in advance of the rest of us, the working bees, to avoid confusion and to make the best of themselves, agreed to put themselves under the drones, and to do what the drones told them. The drones were to take care of the hive, overlook the pastures, direct the works, and keep the law between bee and bee. The island was divided into sections, over each of which a drone presided; and, in consideration of his trouble, a nice cell was built for him, and a double supply of honey regularly furnished for his supper.

"All went well for a long time, till at last, from long practice, the work-bees learnt their business, and could do it as well as the drones and better; so governing grew more and more easy. We could do what was right without their telling us; each generation of drones as they came up found less and less to do, and at last they forgot that they had ever had anything to do except eat and drink and take toll on the pastures; so they grew lazy and self-indulgent, and ate more and more honey. . . . Half of every hive they took for their immense cells; instead of a double share of honey, some of them took five hundred shares; and very grand they used to look—so our old books say—sitting up in state, big drones and little drones, with fat sides and sleek skins, buzzing out oracles that no bee listened to, and stuffing honey as if they would burst.

"The poor bees were sadly put to it to keep all this going, but the drones told them that they should have no flowers at all if they complained; the island belonged to them; and it was only from the drones' kindness that the bees were let to live there at all. So they went on taking more and more, till at last some of the poor patient workers were starved with hunger; and many more, because of the room which was taken up by the great cells, were turned out into the cold and died. . . . You see, my good Ass, bees were as badly off as you are once; but now hear what happened. Listen and be wise." . . . The Ass could not answer, but he stretched his ears forwards with all his might. The sound was inside, and this motion of his was not of special service. However, it was his way of showing that he was attentive. The Bee went on:—

"One cold spring, when the sufferings grew too great for the patience of bees to bear, a meeting of the workers was held to consult what should be done. The proceedings had no sooner opened than a messenger from the drones was announced, and as we were always a prudent, cautious set of creatures, my ancestors determined that they would first hear what he had to say. He was a portly old drone, with a great name for wisdom. They called him Maccullochee; the drone said that he had more brains in his head than all the heads in the hive put together; and a clever fellow he was, as you shall hear.

"He told us the whole difficulty arose from a mistake which we had made as to the meaning of drones, and for what nature intended them. A notion had got abroad that they ought to do something, whereas the very essence of the thing was that they should do nothing. The nature of us working bees, he was sorry to tell us, was very indifferent. We were bad, idle creatures, and would not work without strong inducements. The wisdom of the early bees had therefore appointed drones to exist in highest splendour, in highest idleness, in highest enjoyment, as an ideal to which we workers should look up. If a worker was clever and industrious, if he never cared for any bee but himself, and steadily followed his own interest, in time he might become like one of them, and have the happiness to bring up his children drones. Instead of injuring the community, therefore, the drones were its highest benefactors, and the more idle they were, the more they ate, and the more they enjoyed themselves, the better they did what they were meant to do.

"A deep buzz went round the hive when Maccullochee had done. Some of the silly fellows thought it was all right, and that they had nothing to do but go on as they were; but a black little knot of bees clustered up in a corner, and grew larger and larger, and the hum grew louder and more angry, and presently a little sleek-winged bee, with a sharp nose and shrill note, sprang up on a projecting point of comb, and smoothing down his wings, and giving a flourish with his sting, made a speech. Oh! Ass, it would do you good to hear it all, it would; but it is too long to tell it you all now; however, the effect

of it was this; that once the drones were good for something, then they were good for nothing; once they had been contented with a little, then there was no living for their greediness. Bees were to work. If they didn't work they were good for nothing, neither bees nor drones. If they wanted rules to live by, let them choose the wisest bees they could find, and be governed by them, and not be fools enough to believe that wisdom came of honey and idleness. Drones were no good to themselves, and no good to the bees; and for what Maccullochee had said, he thought Maccullochee had insulted bees and the maker of bees. He begged to say he thought too well of the nature of bees to believe that they wouldn't do their duty unless they were stimulated with the hope of begetting children who should grow up into miserable drones. In conclusion, the grand little fellow flapped his wings and moved with a scream that the pensions of the drones should be taken away, and that they should be required to do something. The drones' ambassador declared that they could not and would not, and the meeting broke up in immense confusion. But they settled the matter that night, my friend, and bees have never had any trouble with their drones since. This is the story I was going to tell you, and now you have got it, and much good may it do you." So saying, the Bee crawled out of her hiding place, and was stretching her wings to fly away, when the Ass cried, "But it is not finished, Bee. What did they do to the drones? You haven't told me what they did do!" She said as she flew away, "Do! Why what you ought to do to this fellow here that you call your master, and what you'd have done long ago, if you were fit for anything better than to be the miserable drudge you are. If you have the heart to do it, you'll have the heart to find it out for yourself. I'm not going to tell you . . . only this much, as the drones drove the bees and ate all the honey, only leaving the bees the scrapings, so the man in the cart drives you, and you know how much of the advantage falls to your share; so if you will take a bee's advice, you will call your brothers together, and see if something can't be done."

So saying, the wicked Bee flew away, taking with her the sting in her tail, but leaving a worse sting stuck fast in the brains of the poor ass who could think of nothing but the wonderful story which the bee had put into them.

PART. II.—LIBERTÉ, ÉGALITÉ, FRATERNITÉ.

Now it happened that the place where the ass lived in the summer months, was a large open common at the back of the town, which he and a number of other asses shared among them; and where he at least was not altogether badly off, seeing that in winter, or in bad weather, or when he was ill, the farmer made him a nest in one of the best of his cattle-sheds. At any rate, it served excellently for a meeting place, and the next Sunday morning, when there was a general holiday, soon after sunrise, our good friend (his brothers called him Gaberlunzie, among the men he had no especial name), having been meditating ever since the bee left him to the extent of his ability, and having arrived at many conclusions, pointed his nose towards the sky, and sent out a long-drawn note, repeating it till it was answered across and along the common far and wide; and presently after dozens of asses came scampering up to know what was the matter. There came Prunk the Surgeon, Boldewyn that carried the minister's children, Neddy the Costermonger, Heavyside the Market-gardener, and many others whose names only the carelessness of history has allowed to be forgotten; up they came, ears forward and ears backward, some trotting, some galloping, some gravely walking as of wiser and more staid demeanour—and with Gaberlunzie sitting on the ground for a centre, they formed themselves in a circle round him, their noses all pointing inwards, and their ears projecting towards him, waiting to be told why they had been so unseasonably disturbed at their breakfast.

Gaberlunzie, who had taken his time considering it, was master of his subject. In a few words he alluded to their sufferings, their cruel work and cruel beatings, and ill-filled stomachs; he told them the Bee's story, all except the end, which he didn't know. It was time, he said, it really was, they should set about trying if they could n't better their condition, if not for their own sakes, at least for their children's. When he remembered what he had been as a child ass, how happy he was, what tricks he used to play, how clever and how saucy he had been, he was sure that, with good feed and less work, and somebody to teach him, he might have grown into a very different sort of creature. As it was, he couldn't bear to think of himself as a father. For his own part, he had decided what he thought they should set about doing. But first, he would like to hear what anybody had to say.

The asses were not quick at a new idea; and that of bettering their condition was a very new one indeed to most of them. One or two, however, which lived in better society, and had made use of their opportunities, were not long in catching fire. Indeed, from what they said it was clear that they too, in their own way had been speculating about the same thing.

First, Prunk came forward. Prunk, the Surgeon's ass, whose business was to be about the streets at midnight, and whose load, when it was brought in, was always wrapped round mysteriously with cloak and covering, who, in the small hours on moonless nights, had been seen standing strangely at the gates of churchyards, conducted by a small imp, called in the town from the evil nature of his employment, the Doctor's Devil, and looked upon by all decent people with very uneasy feelings. And Prunk, too, himself, had gathered in his own bearing something of strangeness and mystery, in the mysteries of the art in which he was employed. And he was revered among asses, as his master was among men. He advanced into the middle of the ring, and rising on his hind legs, and scraping his nose with his left fore-foot, while the right was raised to command attention, told a long story how that what Gaberlunzie had said about the children was truer, perhaps, than he knew while he was saying it. Gaberlunzie only thought it might be so. He, Prunk, knew it was so. How he came to know he was going to tell them:—A few nights before, his elder brother had died suddenly under the same roof with himself. Now, Dick the Devil, who was a clever fellow in his way, and used to help his master in cutting up the men in the surgery, took the opportunity of holding a little private exhibition of his own in the stall, over the body of the ass. And he whose eyes and ears were never closed where any sense was to be learnt, had looked carefully over the side of his stall, and had watched Dick slicing away at his brother's skin, and discoursing to the servant maids about joints and tendons, nerves and arteries, glands and midriff. Wonderful sight it was, indeed, to see the deal of trouble which must have been taken to put together such a body as an ass's; but he had no time to think much of that, for he heard Dick tell the girls that they themselves were nothing but jackasses developed, as he called it, and that accounted for a great many things otherwise surprising in their behaviour. He split open the hoofs, and he showed them the five fingers; he counted the joints in the neck and the back, and showed them all the bumps. These they had themselves and oh! how they screamed when he told them! they had themselves the stump of a tail all ready to grow; and the skin only wanted thumping to be as thick as asses'. "Treat them like asses," he declared, "and they would soon be as like in face as pea to pea; give the asses, when they were little, tea and bread-and-butter, and a flock-bed to sleep upon—make them sit up on little stools, walk on their hind feet, use their paws like decent creatures, and when they grew up, and had nice clothes to wear, they would be exactly as fine handsome things as the girls were." Here was news for an ass to hear. No wonder the women screamed, and no wonder the men kept the asses down as they do. Turn the wheel round. They down and we up; they in the stable and we in the kitchen and parlour, and *pat* their life is ours, and they work for us; and it is time, as Gaberlunzie said, that something should be done towards it.

Great excitement followed Prunk's speech; tails were waved, and ears were agitated, and a general tossing of heads declared the satisfaction with which they had listened. When the meeting grew a little quiet, Boldewyn, the Minister, stood out.

"What Prunk had told them," he said, "explained many things which had always before perplexed him. His place was to walk about with the minister's children, and he had heard the governess tell them stories about asses which had been a real wonder to him. Once upon a time there had been a king, a real king, who could make whatever he touched into real gold; he had worn asses' ears. Another gentleman had taken the form of an ass, and had lived in it a whole year round; and a third there was more wonderful still, who, while he was asleep one night in a wood, had the down form over his face, his ears lengthen out and grow sleek and smooth, in short, had become a real handsome ass; and in this state the great Queen of the Faires herself had fallen in love with him. First he had thought it was only foolish nonsense to amuse the children with; but one Sunday, when the minister's wife was too ill to walk, he had carried her on his back to church, and the minister had walked along at her side, talking all the way on the sermon which he was going to preach, and he had found it was all about the same thing. A very wonderful story, indeed, and, as the minister told it, very much to their, the asses', credit. Putting all this together, there could not be a doubt about it; there was some very close affinity between asses and men. He didn't know so well about the grown ones. Being as they were, it was like enough they might stay as they were; but for the children, bring them up with the boys, and there would soon be a sight worth seeing; and now that Gaberlunzie had brought forward the thing for the sake of their little ones, go through it they should and would."

Then all the asses sent up a long loud chorus. There should be justice, they said, to the working ass; justice and freedom. Were not the asses, as well as the men, animals alike? alike children of nature—all brothers, and all equal? No more should

there be man master and ass the slave; but man and ass should labour each according to his gifts, and each should have his own place and his own labour's worth; and happy days should come when the asses should never be beaten any more. Many fine words were spoken, and long speeches made; but the ass's voice has not wide variety of note, and all were to the same purpose, and pitched in the same tone. Far beyond his brightest hopes Gaberlunzie's success had risen. He rose again, at last, and tears of joy were streaming down his cheeks.

"Yes," he said, "it shall be. Prunk has shown you the sublime possibilities which lie latent in your asses' nature, and our dear enlightened Boldewyn, himself a witness what the ass can be when he has the chance, has well reminded us how from time to time, even in the darkest of our past sad story, the truth has shone through in spite of all and witnessed against the tyranny of custom. 'Only,' he went on, 'remember the work is not done: it is not begun. To-day we are full of burning hopes, to-morrow our drivers will come among us each for his own. They will come with the lash and the halter; and it is for us to say what we will do.'"

A hundred pair of heels flew into the air as the simultaneous answer. Some of them unhappily ill directed, as a few bloody noses testified.

"Good!" said Gaberlunzie, "good, only inexperienced. The intention is good; but force will be brought to meet force, and I have a better plan than that. Those men are strong; but how are they strong? The ass carries the man, but could the man carry the ass? I think not. They are strong because they stick together. Let us stick together then and we may defy them. Together we can do every thing. Separate, they will trip our heels and then woe to our poor hides. Single ass to single man, even the men themselves wouldn't pretend to be a match for us; we can kick harder than they, we can run faster than they; where have they the advantage? It's because as I said they stick together. Look at us now. If one of us wouldn't work for the stuff they give us, and ventured to kick to get peas and cabbage, why if he wouldn't do it another would, wretched creature! Haven't we all of us, haven't I myself drudged along for months together with the wet moor to lie down upon at night, and nothing to eat but chopped straw? and why? because if I didn't another, as I said, would—and I should have to go without so much as the chopped straw; and, perhaps, get knocked on the head into the bargain. So now there shall be no more of all that, what one won't do another mustn't do; and as the men must have the work done somehow, we will have peas and cabbages, and we will have our little ones sent to school, or it shall not be done; and so when they come in the morning, we will tell them, and let them do their best or their worst."

Great was the delight of the assembled asses when they heard Gaberlunzie's plan; for though they had kicked their heels up with a show of being very brave about it, yet they had all felt that somehow fighting was not their strong point, and their hearts beat lighter when they learnt that was not what they were to try.

A very old ass, who had seen service under many masters, and had waited with a sort of an odd grin to hear the end of what was to be said, as soon as the noise was over, observed that it was quite true they were hard-used brutes, a good dinner was better than a bad one, and a soft dry bed than a wet hard one. But somehow he didn't know. No doubt it would be much better for all creatures if they could have everything which was good for them. But it was an odd sort of a world. Things didn't go as they were expected to go. And what looked like a bunch of nice grass a little way off, turned out but a bunch of sting-nettles when one got to them. He was going on to make more difficulties and suggest that they had better wait a little longer, that the men were queer fellows to deal with; but his voice was drowned in the uproar of anger which rose at him, and he let his face settle off into its old grin and walked leisurely off to his breakfast.

(To be concluded in our next.)

The Arts.

OTELLO.

Once during the season is not enough for an opera like *Otello*, above all when we have such a tenor as Tamberlik. But somehow or another our public is indifferent to that bright and stirring music which the careless genius of Rossini threw off in the same year as his immortal *Barbiere*. Our English taste is outraged by this parody of our greatest drama. We forget that Rossini in his twentieth year had probably never heard of Shakespeare—certainly had no idea of writing a Shakespearean piece. The libretto was treated by him just as any other libretto would have been treated—it afforded him a pretext for his improvisation. There was a tenor, a soprano, and two basses to content. He contented them. He contented the public. He wrote a work, which if not a chef-

d'œuvre, ranks as one in comparison with anything Halevy, Verdi, Pacini, or Vaccai ever wrote.

Shakespearean it is not, except that it is very dramatic; but enough for us that it is Rossinian! Giulia Grisi can hardly be said to satisfy our ideas of Desdemona, though formerly it was one of her great parts; she is too old for it now, and it does not, except in the third act, bring out her great powers. By the way, why will she spoil that lovely prayer, *Deh! calma o ciel* by those tawdry ornaments? Tamberlik is great in *Otello*. As an acting part it is his finest effort: terrible and tender! The *aria d'entrata* is a showy, unmeaning thing, in which he is inferior to Rubini; but in the finale to the first act, in the garden scene with Iago, and throughout the third act, he was magnificent. Encored in the duet with Ronconi he threw out his his famous C sharp from the chest, which so roused the audience that it was with difficulty Costa could prevent a second encore. The exquisite phrase which is given to the gondolier passing under Desdemona's window in the third act (the famous phrase in Francesca of Rimini's confession, *Nessun maggior dolore che ricordarsi del tempo felice nella miseria*) was sung by Tamberlik with delicious sweetness. Ronconi as Iago proved what a consummate actor he is; for the part is insignificant, and in Tamburini's hands always remained so; but the intense dramatic feeling of Ronconi raised it into one of the effective and admirable points of the evening. The cold, cat-like stealthiness of his demeanour—his scorn of the duped Othello—the intellectual superiority and perfect self-possession—all fixed attention on him. Throughout the duet with Othello his singing was masterly and significant. Altogether it was a delightful evening—one of the pleasantest of the season; and the management will do well to repeat the opera during the cheap nights.

THE BATEMANS.

Want of space prevents my saying more this week than that the American children Barnum exhibits at the St. James's Theatre, are really prodigies—that their acting both in tragedy and comedy is as *amusing* as it is surprising—and more genuine applause greets their efforts than we often hear now-a-days. Ellen, the younger of the two, has a most expressive face, and extraordinary energy; she rants with the explosiveness of a "leading tragedian;" and her *look*, when she half raises herself from the ground after the fatal combat with Richmond, is positively intense. So much for the *amusement* to be derived from these performances; the other questions which they suggest I must touch upon next week. VIVIAN.

THE SYRO-LEBANON COMPANY.

If you desire to take a dip into the East, and to refresh your recollections of the Arabian Nights, you have only to go to the Egyptian Hall, where you will find a family of genuine Orientals, duly installed in the Holy Land. The evening I had the privilege of assisting at a private view, the Syro-Lebanon company were evidently suffering from the severe change of climate (think of Lebanon to Piccadilly!), the reaction of sea-sickness, the new and strange diet, and, possibly too, a little of the *nostalgia* which even Frenchmen feel when they are for the first time reduced to "rost bif and beer." Besides, would it not be slightly embarrassing to an English family, transported into some outlandish country, to have to go through some one of our peculiar domestic or national solemnities, such as a "tea and turn-out," for the edification of "gaping strangers?" But the utter *genuineness* of this Eastern group was to me delightful. The bridal procession and festival you may have seen any day these many centuries, from Aleppo to Damascus. The dark and languid beauty of the almond-eyed bride, the three musicians discoursing anxiously on the eka-noon, the tam-boura, and the daraboukeh; the first, simplicity itself, the second, restless animation, the third, dreamy complacency; the hunchback, a very incarnation of the Arabian Nights, improvising sonorously, and, just as he reaches the point of thrilling interest, going round with a grin of ineffable *finesse* to receive a whiff from a narguileh; the interpreter, who speaks English unexceptionably, and with a face beaming with fun, and a keen sense of the ludicrous, explains "the bride coming to the bridegroom, who has never seen her before;" the rest of the group relieved by quaint little children in the background; and all in costume unmistakably true. I recommend you to go and see, and you will then be able to say you have "done the

East," without having got as far as a Peninsular and Oriental packet. The exhibition is thoroughly novel and unique, and, with the passion for the East so prevalent, cannot fail to excite a sensation. I was sorry to hear that the party had lost one old man on their voyage, and that four others had been frightened back by this calamity.

L. C. H.

Organizations of the People, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

HOW TO IDENTIFY THE REFUGEES.

To afford facilities of existence to the political refugees, who from Italy and Poland have sought our shores, is the common duty of an hospitable people. This has not been done in the name of our Government—it has not been a national act, in an official sense. It has been the act of the generous and sympathising, of the liberal in politics and the working-men. To the personal exertions of Mr. W. J. Linton it was primarily owing that the 230 Refugees, whose time ago arrived in Liverpool, were provided for. Mr. James Spurr of that town has discharged the laborious office of Secretary to the Committee established there. In the provinces the efforts of these gentlemen met with cordial responses; in Newcastle-on-Tyne, by Mr. Joseph Cowen, Jun.—in Sheffield, Manchester, London, and other places by other persons, as has been reported. It being known that Refugees are supported in different districts, imitations of them are not unfrequent—and as every successful imposture will diminish public confidence and sympathy for real cases, some mode of identifying them should be understood. I lately found a man at Newcastle-on-Tyne, who represented himself as a "Cousin of Garibaldi." Nobody knew whether it was true, and nobody wished to disbelieve the story without evidence. If this man was a cousin of the famous Guerilla general, and had taken no part in the recent struggles, he has no right to figure as an exile among us, because he has no occasion to be one. Had he been a relative and a patriot, he could not have been ignorant where the friends of his celebrated kinsman were to be found in England. Had he been ignorant of that fact, he could not be ignorant that they were to be found in this country, or why did he come here? All he had to do on landing was to claim help, such as he needed, from the first friendly Britons he might discover—give in his name, saying—"I am not so fortunate as to know where my countrymen, likely to respect me for my name and my services, reside; but there is my name, in such a cohort I fought, from such a place have I come, and for the purpose of protection from my own and my country's enemies. You know where my friends are to be found. Correspond with them for me, and a post or two will bring an identification down to you, justifying your kindness to me." Any intelligent exile could contrive to communicate as much as this, through the means of the first interpreter at hand, and any honest exile would be aware that this was his proper course to pursue, and in a short time his identity could be honourably established. This man came to Newcastle-on-Tyne, from Edinburgh. If a genuine refugee, he ought, long before he reached that place, to have put himself in communication (through others) with responsible parties in London. A gentleman from Preston lately called upon me, alleging that an assumed refugee, in that town, had levied contributions, on the representation of being known to myself and some others. The representation was untrue, and the name he assumed was the name belonging to an *opposite* party to that whose struggles had entitled them to English sympathy. The course to take, where doubt exists as to the genuineness of any one personating a Polish refugee is, to write to W. J. Linton, Miteside, Ravensglass, Cumberland, or to James Spurr, Temperance Hotel, 10, Williamson-square, Liverpool; where lists are kept of the 230 refugees (which include all the latest known), and if the personator does not prove to be one of them, he should furnish a particular account of himself. Accounts are kept of the names and addresses of these 230, and it is known where they are, and all transmissions of them from town to town are registered. If an unknown Italian claims support, let a letter, with the grounds on which he does so, be sent to David Masson, Secretary of the Society of the Friends of Italy, 10, Southampton-street, Strand, London, who will be able to supply the required information. The republicans who fought for Hungary were the Poles, so that of Republican Hungarian exiles it is

likely that they will come under the head of "Polish Refugees," but in the case of a Hungarian requiring relief of whom information is needed, application can be made to Francis Pulszky, St. Petersburg-place, Bayswater, London, or to Lord Dudley Stuart, M.P., 26, St. James's-square, who is the chairman of the Hungarian Committee. Any other modes of identification not included in these, should also be made public by persons possessing proper information.

ION.

THE NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.—Among the correspondence read at the meeting of the Executive on Wednesday, was the weekly report from Ernest Jones. He writes a spirited account of his proceedings. He lectured again in Newtown on Tuesday, the 19th. On the 21st he was in Birmingham, which he describes as apathetic and inert. Walsall is worse, in his estimation; for there, though a considerable number desired to be enrolled, notions of "policy" withheld them. It was in the agricultural districts that he found the greatest amount of spirit and willingness. He contrasts Peterborough with Walsall, unfavourably for the latter town; and he again points out how desirable it is that a vigorous propaganda should be carried out in the agricultural districts. On the motion of Messrs. Arnott and Holyoake, it was agreed:—"That in order effectually to carry out the Tract Propaganda, the following instructions be issued:—1. That those who have time and talent, and feel disposed to write Tracts, be requested to forthwith forward their names and addresses to the General Secretary. 2. That the Tracts be brief, plain, and understandable, containing sound, political, and social information, calculated to instruct the agricultural labourer, miner, sailor, &c., in the principles of Democracy, and to teach them their position as men, and their duties as citizens. 3. That Tract Committees be formed in every city, town, village, and hamlet throughout the country, on a similar plan to that adopted by the Hoxton locality." Collecting cards for the Tract Fund are now ready. The next *Monthly Circular* will be published on September the 1st, and all agents are requested at once to send their orders for the same.

Mr. Lloyd Jones and Mr. Walter Cooper left London on Monday, for a tour in Scotland and the North of England, to expound the Associative principle, and explain the plan and purpose of the Central Co-operative Agency established in London. They will visit especially those places where there are organized stores, and endeavour to promote the establishment of stores where they are still wanting.

The working smiths are engaged in establishing an Association. A preliminary meeting was held on the 19th under the presidency of Mr. Vansittart Neale. It was resolved to hold another meeting on the 2nd of September. Mr. Field has originated this Association; and Mr. George Kidd has been appointed secretary.

MASTER AND WORKMEN.—The workmen in the employment of Mr. Cubitt, the eminent builder, having some time since requested to be allowed to leave off work at four o'clock on Saturday afternoons, he has granted the request without making any reduction in their wages, an arrangement found to be of great advantage to the workmen, upwards of 1500 in number.

REDEMPTION SOCIETY.—We still meet with opposition; but it tends to promote our success, by calling the attention of parties to the society who would not otherwise notice it; and examination generally produces a conviction in our favour. A lecture is announced to be delivered at Hall's coffee-house, Leeds, by Mr. W. Clark, against the Redemption Society, on Wednesday evening, August 20. At the directors' meeting on Thursday, August 14, several resolutions were passed respecting the opening of a co-operative store, and the meeting adjourned to Thursday, August 21, when it is expected that the entire scheme will be ready to lay before the society. Moneys received during last week:—Leeds: £1 10s. 7d.; Mr. Douthwaite, 2s. 6d.; Hanley, Staffordshire, 6s. 2d. Building Fund: Leeds, 7s. 6d.; Rochdale, Mr. Smithies, 2s. 6d. Propagandist Fund: Leeds, 5s. 10d.; Hanley, 1s. 4d. Moneys received for this week:—Leeds, £1 19s. 10d.; London, per Mr. Kingsbury, 2s. 5d.; Brighton, per Kilminster, £1 14s. 6d. Building Fund: Leeds, 9s. 6d. Propagandist Fund, 1s. 11d. J. HENDERSON, Secretary, 162, Briggate, Leeds.

MR. ROBERT OWEN AND THE "ATHENÆUM."—In reply to some very liberal strictures on Mr. Owen's plans by the *Athenæum*, the founder of English Socialism has addressed a defence of himself to that journal, which appeared last Saturday. Two passages deserve currency. Mr. Owen says:—"Talk of any of the experiments which have been tried being an experiment to try the truth of the principles which I advocate! as well may you talk of giving a specimen of pure water with a compound containing nine-tenths of gross impurities. Those experiments to which you allude in your notice of my proceedings were not my experiments, nor commenced by me. They were experiments controlled by others, and none of them had more than a small portion of my views, with a large proportion of the old irrational system of society necessarily combined with them, and which was sure to destroy them. Talk of failures of experiments on my principles! Why this is the very earliest period when it would be practicable, in consequence of the prejudices forced into the minds of all, for an attempt to be made to form a common-sense compound of society to constitute a rational community."



Open Council.

[IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME, ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

SUPPRESSION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN GERMANY.

Lower Mount-cottage, Lower-heath, Hampstead, August 26, 1851.

SIR,—The cause of Protestant Germany is closely connected with the religious freedom of England. You cannot, therefore, avoid feeling the deepest interest in all details relating to the encroachments of Popery on our ancient religious liberties, and the suppression by the Pope, and the despotic Governments of the new Reformation in Germany. I speak of the "German Catholic Church," or of the "free parishes," or, as you would name them, congregations, whose existence is now at stake. The existence of many thousand parishes and schools throughout the whole of Germany.

Protestant Prussia having yielded complete submission to Catholic Austria, Popery is overruling all the Protestant parts of Germany. Under various names, the Jesuits are kindly received by the Governments, and rewarded beforehand for their services, by rich donations of landed property. The King of Prussia, grandson of the philosopher Frederick the Great, is completely in the hands of the Catholic retrograde party. The police, and the army of Prussia, are now the instruments of the dark and bloody policy of Rome. No one in England can form conception of the persecutions to which the Protestant clergy must submit, who scruple to preach from their pulpits in favour of courts martial and perjury, the two favourite measures of the German courts.

In the first line of persecution are the German Catholic parishes, founded since 1844. Established by successful agitation within the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church, they are of course hated above all by the ruling Jesuits. It was natural for Metternich to declare criminal the members of these congregations, and to banish them from Austria. Since the revolution of 1848, a great many German Catholic reformed congregations were formed in Austria and Bavaria. Their formation was perfectly legal, for every one of our thirty-four sovereigns solemnly upon his oath guaranteed absolute religious liberty to his subjects. But now, in the course of the counter revolution, a crusade of extermination has been commenced against these congregations, which now number about one million of souls. In Austria we are no longer allowed to meet or to worship. The clergymen or churchwardens are imprisoned or driven out of the country. The clergyman of the congregation at Vienna was declared by the Roman Catholic clergy to be insane, and is confined in a madhouse. The Prussian Government is more cowardly, but not less cruel. In January last the ministry of that chief Protestant country of the Continent held a privy council, when the question was discussed—whether they should at once destroy the "free religious unions," or kill hereafter by means of force. The council decided for the latter course. In this way does the Government of Protestant Prussia endeavour to please the Pope and the Czar. Since 1848 numerous marriages have been contracted in these congregations. The parish registers and certificates of marriage solemnized there were recognized by the authorities. Now the Government has declared all these marriages to be no better than concubinage. Imagine the confusion and dismay which this diabolical measure has suddenly caused to thousands of happy homes. Think of the litigation it must occasion, and the spoliation of the fortunes of so many innocent children, offspring of these marriages if dishonest judges give force to this government decree, as a law of the land; and you may rely on it that they will do so—unhappy Germany having now no other source of law than the wretched passions of her governors. Not satisfied with thus destroying the sacred home of these unhappy families, they persecute every member of these congregations, from his cradle to his grave. The new-born infant, if not brought immediately to a state-church clergyman, or to a

Roman Catholic priest, is taken up by the royal gendarmerie, carried to a state-church, and there "prepared for the blessings of eternity;" for such is the command of his Majesty, the grandson of Frederick the Great.

The worship of the larger congregations, having been in existence for more than six years, was not at once prohibited. But there was a police measure in preparation. The Government deprived the congregations of chapels, the use of which had been given by their Protestant fellow-citizens. This happened to the congregations at Berlin and at Breslau. To the smaller congregations the command of prohibition was at once made. The administration of the Lord's Supper has been punished in several towns by imprisonment. It so happened at Königsberg. Public officers who were members of free congregations have been dismissed. Even the support of the poor children of these free parishes is forbidden, and the schools which the congregations had erected are shut up. In Breslau, where there is a free congregation of ten thousand souls, the "Ladies' union" proposed to hold a bazaar for the sale of articles which they had made for the benefit of the poor children; but the Berlin Government prohibited it. At Breslau, and at Nondhausen, the children's gardens (Kindergarten) of the Ladies' union are put down. What think ye are these gardens that they should frighten that warlike Prussian Government? The Kindergarten were simply play rooms and gardens for young children of ages from three to seven years, where they were educated and amused themselves under the superintendence of members of the Frauen-Verein, or Ladies' union!

The Pope could find no fitter tool for his destructive purposes than this Protestant King and his abominable Government.

Think you, Sir, there was no connection between the conversion of the King of Prussia and the Papal invasion of England? Was the Prime Minister of England without knowledge of facts when he stated in Parliament, that there was a wide-spread conspiracy against all European liberty and religious freedom and enlightenment? Was it not soon after the Olmutz meeting and the glorious battle of Boon-sell for Jesuitic Austrian dominion, that Doctor Wiseman made his appearance in England as Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster? Do you not think, Sir, that the Jesuits will the better accomplish their ends in Great Britain where there are such powerful superstitions to support them, when they have thoroughly subdued that land which has produced so many great men in art and science, the cradle of the Reformation? The destinies of all nations are now so closely knit together, that there is left but one general name of humanity. Let the light of the Continent be quenched, and England will soon be covered by the darkest night.

The Free Catholic Church, a result of the scientific progress of Germany, is the most powerful enemy of Popery and Jesuitism; it takes away from them the people, the families, the children, the schools. Will the free and enlightened Protestant people of England and America sleep while this new reformation in their mother-land of Germany is crushed by red-handed despotism? Let them raise their powerful cry of just indignation. We ask their sympathy in our struggle for the life or death of human society on the Continent. Do not forget the memorable example of Cromwell when he protected the persecuted Huguenots of France. It is now time to awake and join us.

And now, Sir, I come to a practical proposition. A committee has been formed in London to unite the friends of religious freedom who sympathize with their persecuted brethren of Germany. We invite all friends of religious liberty in the European Continent and the United States of America to communicate with our committee, to aid us in the struggle against Jesuitism and religious oppression, with combined and well-directed force.

The United Committee appeal to the sympathy of the English people, they appeal to every man who is a friend to religious liberty and the progress of humanity, to strengthen them in their labours, by uniting in the struggle against the common enemy of religion and progress.

I am, Sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,
JOHANNES RONGE.

P.S. It will afford me pleasure to furnish any information that may be desired, on receipt of letters sent to the above address. I am to be found at home every Friday from 11 A.M. to 1 P.M.

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION AND UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE VERSUS MONOPOLY.

Kemptown, August 19, 1851.

SIR,—As an humble student of Social Economy, which, like every branch of knowledge and science, is based upon the observation of facts, I would expunge the word "Socialism" from the vocabulary, as a term which has no more definite meaning than Whig, Tory, or Radicalism.

The opponents of co-operative association are difficult to please: they object to co-operation because it cannot instantly create capital and employment, nor abolish competition; they deny that it will produce

the beneficial effects anticipated by its promoters, and predict that it must end in disastrous failure; yet, at the same time, the public is warned by their lugubrious vaticinations of its inevitable results, terminating in Red-Republicanism, Communism, and Anarchy. They may reconcile, if they can, these conflicting assertions.

Coöperation, however, is no novel theory, nor of recent application; neither does it appear to have excited alarm, even in timid minds, until of late, when applied to labour for the benefit of the operatives themselves. Joint-stock banks, joint-stock societies of all kinds, freehold-land associations, have been encouraged and promoted by the "middle classes," so long as the element of labour—the creative power of capital—were excluded. But no sooner is the same principle, which greatly augments the productive power of labour, applied to the formation of coöperative societies, in which every member is bound to contribute his own industry and manual skill—the latent form of capital—than a complete revulsion in their sentiments and views takes place. Coöperation, in the eyes of the middle-class Economists and Free-traders, immediately becomes a dangerous conspiracy against property and order; and an imaginary spectre is conjured up, which, like the "baseless fabric" of a vision, instantly vanishes when examined by the fear-dispelling light of reality.

Whether English operatives have yet acquired sufficient powers of self-control and self-denial to organize themselves and work together in concert, by a self-imposed division of employment and of labour, of pay and of profit, under leaders elected from among themselves; whether they will consent to remunerate these leaders adequately for head work—that peculiar talent which is requisite for the direction and management of their manufacture or trade—and thus raise themselves to the social dignity of freedom as opposed to licence, still remains to be proved by time and experiment—the only practical test. Why, then, raise such an outcry against coöperative association—only a modified form of competition—while the manufacturer or employer who possesses industrious habits, large self-reliance, and a vigorous intellect, with just sufficient moral feeling for the profitable direction of his inferior powers, is highly applauded by society if he acquire great wealth? This accumulated capital he is allowed to transmit to his heirs without let or hindrance, although it may have been acquired by exacting long-continued and excessive toil from the artisan he has employed, who, stimulated by high wages perhaps, or constrained by necessity, may have prepared for himself only a premature grave, in which, exhausted and worn out in body and in mind, he is laid more like a jaded horse than a human being. Will any man, or any class of men, therefore, dare to assert that the artisan shall not freely be permitted to coöperate with his fellows, in order to secure himself, if possible, against so fatal a destiny? It may be replied, that the artisans will still compete with each other, and thus wear themselves out by an excess of self-imposed labour. This, however, is highly improbable, and could then no longer be enforced by any harsh and unrelenting master. Far from wishing to abolish the competitive principle, I, for my own part, am convinced that competition, within rational limits, will be found necessary, to check the rank growth of Monopoly, which is constantly springing up afresh: it is the abuse of the competitive principle which tends to generate monopoly in its worst form—the monopoly of unscrupulous capitalists. By means of association, however, the economical advantages of production, as well as of distribution on a large scale, may be combined with an equitable system of remuneration for the operative. But Social Reform—such, for instance, as that of converting the truck-shop into the coöperative store—can only be introduced gradually, although the progressive evolution of mental power renders it probable that men possess a greater capacity for improvement than experience would, at first sight, lead us to suppose.

Every day brings to light fresh evidence of the pernicious effect of hostile and reckless competition,—especially in making contracts for the charge and support of the poor. At an important meeting of the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association, recently held in Brighton, I read the following account, given by the president, Dr. Jenks, of the sufferings inflicted by this unprincipled contest on the poor-law medical officers, and on the poor, who are, in fact, the greatest sufferers:—

"If (continued Dr. Jenks) we look heedfully at the condition of many of our poorer brethren, especially in the rural districts, over-worked, badly remunerated, cruelly oppressed by hard taskmasters, or perchance ruined by the reckless competition of interlopers, we shall see abundant necessity for a Benevolent Fund. Much of this evil is to be attributed to the adverse administration of the poor laws. It would have given me great pleasure if I could have announced any improvement in the relative position of medical union officers and their oppressors, the guardians of the poor as they are called; but I am sorry to say that the Committee of the Convention of Poor Law Medical Officers have suspended their meetings through want of support.

After a statement of their difficulties and proceedings, they conclude their report by urging 'The Poor Law Medical Officers and the profession in general to consider how much the redress which is sought, and for which so large a sacrifice of money, exertion, and time has been made by some of their brethren, is within their voluntary grasp, but that it can never be hoped for so long as the degrading and ill-paid appointments are not merely accepted but made the objects of eager competition.' Let it be remembered that by this ruinous competition for poor-law appointments the real thrift and progress of the profession are seriously injured; that, by undertaking more than they can perform, medical officers share the guilt of neglecting the poor with the so-called guardians; that, by receiving less than a just reward for their services, they degrade themselves and damage not only the interests of their fellow-labourers with their own, but indirectly those of every practitioner in the kingdom. A competition unlimited like this, degenerates into unlicensed selfishness, which can only be checked by judicious combination. These rival principles may both be considered useful when properly balanced. Some degree of honest rivalry or emulation is needful to develop the energies of mankind, and some degree of combination equally so to protect the interests of class or profession. The one is a duty we owe to ourselves, the other to our neighbours. The remedy for this debasing system of poor-law competition is chiefly in the hands of the union officers themselves; but much might be done by a Government acting upon public principles for the public good, and especially the good of the indigent poor, who, in the main, are the greatest sufferers by these irregularities."

As long as we pursue this short-sighted policy, and neglect or omit to remove the causes of pauperism,—as long as we chiefly confine our efforts to making cheap contracts,—so long will there be a constant succession of paupers to be maintained.

If we turn from the medical profession to that of artists, we find in their history during the last century abundant proof of the sufferings entailed upon them, and particularly upon engravers, by improvidence and want of friendly coöperation: a state of social anarchy which terminated in the establishment, in 1768, of a crushing monopoly. This monopoly has exercised a very injurious influence on society, by degrading art to a mere trading speculation, by lowering the social position of the great body of British artists, and by raising in the minds of the manufacturer and artisan a false standard of merit. Under the academic system of annual exhibition, the artist has degenerated into an art-manufacturer, and the Royal Academy into an auction-room, where the ignorant are imposed upon by factitious social distinctions, which are not recognized in the Republic of Art.

The history of the Incorporated Society of the Artists of Great Britain (an association formed for their mutual protection and support) is well known, and the sudden termination of its career by a court intrigue. In consequence of the success of the "cabal," the great body of our artists were left at the mercy of an irresponsible society, trafficking for profit, yet entrusted with very extensive public powers and privileges, although chiefly occupied with the private and sordid interest of its members, who shamelessly neglected their duties, and corruptly administered the delegated authority with which they had been invested for the encouragement of fine art, and the foundation of a training school for artists worthy of the British nation. Instead of the gentle foster-mother of arts and of artists, as warranted by royal diploma, Monopoly turned out a meretricious flaunting jade, tricked out in the latest caprice of fashion—bestowing her dearly purchased favours upon court sycophants and fribbles, and her patronage on the pet "forbible-feeble" of the day. But court and aristocratic patronage have been ever fatal to the arts; while I am inclined to believe that the size and splendour of the national repositories of art should be considered a fair test of the knowledge and mental culture of a people, and as a type of the state of art; for nothing can be more conducive to the true dignity or worthlessness of the nation than the mode in which it expends that superfluous wealth, which exceeds what is necessary for its existence; as it is from this source that real prosperity diffuses itself throughout the land, in proportion to the quantum of nutriment supplied.

The English engravers, a very talented body of men, were at first excluded from the Academy, although received with distinction on the Continent, where their works have been always highly appreciated. They were afterwards admitted in extremely limited numbers, but upon such degrading terms that, for a time, no engravers could be found base enough to accept the very questionable titles of honour which the Monopolists were willing to bestow. But gradually they sank into a state of dependence on the publishers and printsellers; and when the great publishing house of Hurst and Robinson failed, the engravers for a time were actually prostrated. An attempt was then made by a generous friend, who advanced £3000 for the purpose, to rescue them from their distressing situation, and enable them, by means of coöperative association, to undertake the publication, on their own account, of an important national work. This attempt failed from the absence of the zeal and

earnestness necessary for success in their common enterprise.

The print sellers and publishers have been wiser in their generation than the engravers, and have now formed themselves into an "Association," their design being, in the words of their own circular, "to elevate the character and promote the welfare of the print sellers and publishers of the United Kingdom, and to watch over the interests of the trade in general." This association now exercises a powerful and stringent authority over the whole body of the English engravers. If association, therefore, confer such important advantages on the printsellers, why not also on the printmakers, of the United Kingdom? At all events, let the trial be made.

I would, therefore, also claim the right of Association, so freely exercised by the "middle classes" for their own partial emancipation from the thralldom of the privileged aristocracy, on behalf of the unprivileged operative class, whose progressive moral improvement during this giant half century is very striking, and was never more visibly manifested than on the occasion of the Whig Premier's "No Popery" epistle. That dastardly attempt to rouse the latent spirit of persecution and bigotry against our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen signally failed. It met with no responsive echo in the hearts of the magnanimous people, whose orderly behaviour of late has excited the admiration of the world, and formed an edifying contrast to that of the armed soldiers concentrated in the metropolis to maintain order, who were the only disorderly exceptions to the general rule.

But the people, who have shown themselves more enlightened and more tolerant than their rulers, have thus established the strongest claim to immediate social and political enfranchisement, which, indeed, can no longer prudently be denied by the dominant class in this country to those who have already proved themselves worthy of every privilege conferred by other states upon their citizens. The present condition of France should operate as a salutary warning on our legislators; and, as the social emancipation of the people is inseparably bound up with their political enfranchisement, let their stern and significant demand, on the new year of 1852, be for universal suffrage—the only sure and permanent basis, for our social and religious liberties; for toleration is not the opposite, but only the counterfeit, of intolerance. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM CONINGHAM.

TO THE WORKERS.

Bradford, August 15, 1851.

FELLOW OPERATIVES.—This is the age of wonders. Our reforms of the first half of this century are but a step onwards. We have many steps to take yet before we reach the top; but we are going up; and though the road is round and round like the stone steps of a Cathedral tower, yet it is upwards; and even whilst we are dizzy with the ascent, we feel that we are still mounting, and that is all we care for. Never mind the past. It is not necessary to look back upon that. We are in the stream, and have enough to do to mind the eddies; a crisis is at hand for us, for we are acknowledged to be the "many," and our labours are considered by all sides, and by all parties, to be of the utmost importance to the nation. Remember, it was for us that the Imperial Legislature passed the measure of Free-trade. We are the manufacturers, about whose glory so much has been said, and for whose benefit there is at present such great political contention.

We are they who are to beat foreign competition to the dust; to eat the bread of foreigners, and to clothe them for it. There is, in fact, henceforward to be no other manufacturing nation living. We are to do it all. Hurrah, then for Free-trade! for it has made us somebody. If we have "achieved greatness," we have also had greatness "thrust upon us;" and whether we did it or it was done for us, we are somebody, and that is all we need care about.

Well, then, let us take up our position, and let us show what we are. Let us juggle ourselves into the area of public opinion—"Somebody" ought to be heard. "Somebody" has a right to speak—Nobodies should "keep silence, that they may hear," as Marc Antony said over the body of Great Caesar.

Who are we?—once again I ask that question. The many. Can there be two Manys? The world says no. Free-traders say no, too. If we, then, are the many, who are the few? Surely, then, the many have a right to be heard!

The difference between the many and the few seems to be this: that the few have all the money, and the many the mouths. What then? We have the greater means of telling what we think. Let us, therefore, tell the few, that if we serve, we feel; and that with Free-trade in corn there shall be Free-trade in speech.

The sugar that is made by slaves cannot consistently be eaten by the free.

Have we property? let us defend it. Have we

* See a pamphlet published by Mrs. Parker, entitled *Art Monopoly*.

rights? let us keep them sacred and intact. Have we feelings? let us maintain their susceptibility. Have we senses? let us use them. Our property is our industry—our rights are those of citizenship—our feelings are those of social and domestic life—our senses are the gift of God.

Have we been chained to the car till we are sinew-bound? God forbid! This is a free land, and we are not slaves. The human wheels are more powerful than either the "stick," the "carrier," or the "roller." If they say stop—all stop: if they say go on—all go on. An engine of a thousand-horse power cannot drive our inclination. Our industry is still our own. Our senses are no longer asleep. We have something to say for our intellect, and more for our immortality.

Who are uppermost on the political horizon? The Free-traders! And who are they? The manufacturers! And who are the manufacturers? Not Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, or Mr. Wilson, but the people of the manufacturing districts. We are, therefore, uppermost, and we will be heard therefore.

There was a time when we were slaves. Let the past die!

Amid the few, some are rich in money, some in genius, some in art, some in diplomacy, some in general knowledge. What is there to prevent us from being rich in all these qualifications as well as they? We are not rich in money—neither was Arkwright—and look at the Arkwrights now. We have no such names as Crichton, but Crichton's brain was once a clear tablet. We have neither Opies nor Etyes amongst us, but Opie and Ety were born amongst us. We have neither Lord Palmerston nor Lord Aberdeen in our ranks, but let them look about them when the property qualification of members is taken off. We have the same kinds of heads and hands if we would only make a right use of them. We have the means within our own grasp if we could but see that we had. Let us try to understand our position—and success is certain.

Your faithful friend,
OLIVER BRADFORD.

RELIGIOUS TRACTS.

Dundee, August 16, 1851.

SIR,—Within the last few days a tract has been put into my hands by a friend, no doubt much interested in my spiritual welfare, entitled *Glad Tidings of Great Joy*. It is published under the auspices of the religious (or kirk-going) people of this town. Whether it really contains such "tidings" as render its title appropriate will be for your readers to judge by the sequel. It does, indeed, seem strange to me, that rational people can so far deceive themselves as to suppose that their fellow-creatures will be frightened into believing such absurdities as are set forth in this pious pamphlet. If the orthodox have nothing better to send their "heathen brethren," it would be well to let the matter alone. Perhaps some of your readers could favour us with the true scriptural idea of joyful tidings; for such absurd and ferocious statements as those now before me rather tend to aversion than conversion.

This said religious tract commences, "Reader, thou must die," a fact which, I have no doubt, the readers of the *Leader* long ago discovered, and adds, "But thou hast that within thee which can never die; thou hast an immortal never-dying soul," a statement made without even the shadow of a proof; and which appears very strange, considering that the whole force of the after arguments rests on its truth. I may here mention that the author of this very orthodox paper neither condescends to reason or give proof for any affirmation he makes. I suppose, like some high in authority in the Church, he trusts to the "sword of the spirit" cutting away all hardness of heart; and convincing those whom he addresses in the following words:—

"It may be thou hast gone on day after day, week after week, month after month, yea, year after year, as unconcerned about your soul's eternal state, as if hell were a tale, and eternity a trifle. But die thou must, how soon thou knowest not. It may be this hour, this moment; and, should it be so, where would that soul be?"

He does not answer, but leaves you to imagine the joyful reply—in hell. Undoubtedly, "glad tidings of great joy."

Again, he goes on to say:—

"Dost thou know the way of salvation? Perhaps thou dost not; perhaps thou thinkest thou canst save thyself—that thy bad deeds are not so bad, but that thy good works may by some means or other prevail upon God to forgive thee—that if a man does the best he can, Christ will do the rest."

"But, my friend, if this is thy way of salvation, it is a way the Scriptures know nothing of."

Here are, indeed, joyful news. How pleasant must it be to communicate such "tidings" to poor weak or ignorant men, to assure them that they have every prospect of going down to hell! Truly this is a message for those who have few of the world's comforts, and can say, "silver and gold have I none." How little comfort does this assurance bring to the heart of the "natural man"! but the followers of God know whereof they have to glory.

Might we not reasonably ask the writer of these

very "glad tidings" whether he has ever done better "than the best he can?" and what is his hope in consequence? If only upon such a condition we can become Christians, and be admitted into fellowship with the saints, we run a very bad chance indeed. If we cannot reach heaven till we do better than the best we can, I much fear it will be a very long time.

It would be needless to occupy more of your valuable space with quotations from this very joyful tract. The foregoing may be considered fair samples of what are issued from the Christian world generally as "glad tidings of great joy." I have no doubt your readers will concur with me in saying such is the case, especially with the emanations of Religious Tract Societies. When books or tracts are put into the hands of poor ignorant people, containing such horrible and unfeeling sentiments, what must they think? What awful views must they entertain of God and Christianity! I leave it to the imaginations of your readers and the patrons of Religious Tract Societies.

It would give me much pleasure to hear of a plan being established for the promulgation of sound views on religious matters among our poorer brethren. When this is the case, however, I trust it will be on a liberal and enlightened scale—that useful information will not be doled out in small two-page tracts—or any mean and dirty tricks practised, like those sometimes resorted to by societies for the dissemination of "glad tidings of great joy."

Yours respectfully, JUSTITIA.

THE PEACE QUESTION.

London, August 13, 1851.

SIR,—The crimes of peace," such was the heading of an article in last week's *Leader* that attracted my attention. I was fain to know what ugly charges could be sustained against so gentle and respectable a creature. Some recent tendencies of your journal had warned me that, no longer desirous of being included among the sybarites of pacific repose, you had begun to regard war as a praiseworthy weapon of human intelligence, and to seek for what I almost fear from your example I ought now to call the bubble progress at the cannon's mouth. But I was happy to observe, when I came to read the counts of your indictment, that they were very singular and not very strong. Certain embarrassments, such as the redundancy of unemployed naval and military officers, and the publication of obscene prints in Holywell-street, are urged in illustration of the criminal offences of peace. Now, assuredly, a redundancy of unemployed naval and military officers does seem, whether for good or evil, a very natural result of peace, and yet if you wish to discover how long years of peace have diminished this very excess, you have only to compare the half-pay list of 1851 with any such list more immediately subsequent to the war. It may then occur to you that war, unless you mean it to be everlasting, must one day terribly aggravate a redundancy, from which, through it, you hope to be relieved.

Next, as to the rubbish of Holywell-street. In the very same breath with which you justly ascribe this prurient taste to the vicious organization of society, you astound us by regarding it as the symptom of a disease, "the causes of which we firmly believe are to be sought, by the light of present observation, no less than of history, in the encravings of peace." Well, then, turn to such of your foreign friends as are old enough to recollect the period when France was a camp, Europe a slaughter field, and the purity of the public, therefore, according to your theory, at its maximum, for information as to the state of the Paris print shops at that time. If the answer does not satisfy you—though I suspect it will—I have it in my power to give you some curious illustrations of what former history does actually teach us on this matter.

I know I am intruding upon your space, but permit me to add another word. You begin your article with an exclamation:—"How many momentous questions would be solved, for the day at least, by a good stirring war!" I pass over the expression "for the day at least," reminding me though it does of the old heroic practice in medicine, which virtually removed a present symptom to the certain destruction of future health, merely asking you to convert your opening sentence from the exclamatory into the interrogatory form, and then to answer it yourself. What and how many the momentous questions are which would find a favourable or unfavourable issue in war is precisely what we require to know. To determine this is the right way of grappling with the matter. Will you be good enough to attempt it?

You further observe—"Present appearances indicate either a war of Emancipation for Peoples against Absolutism, or a war of Northern Absolutism against the ultra-civilized degeneracy of Western Europe." Allow me to ask how the two members of the sentence can stand together? If there be everywhere abroad that noble ardour which shall impel Peoples to assert their Emancipation against Absolutism, where is that "degeneracy" which is to tempt

Northern Absolutism to the attack? Moreover, what is meant by "ultra-civilized degeneracy," and where is it to be found? Even in the capacity for martial prowess, which of the bulwarks of Western Europe is it that is not in this respect more formidable than it ever was? Surely language such as I have quoted belongs to that order of phrases which, if fitly introduced into circulars addressed to Continental Democracy, are very unfit to be addressed to English Democracy.

Excuse my bluntness. I have hailed the appearance of the *Leader*, and have watched its progress with interest. I rejoice in its ability; I love its Socialism; I admire its outspoken tone on theology. I have no great horror of its Democracy, though I might perhaps somewhat differ from it as to the essential value of political form—and, I may add, that here and there I may have done it some trifling good. But it is precisely because such are my feelings towards it, that I deprecate a tone of writing which has lately appeared in it—which is derived from impositions which I think I can readily trace to their source—impositions damaging, as in the article I have criticised, to its just reputation for talent, and not at all calculated either to advance that cause of progress to which I believe it to be sincerely attached, or to gain—I speak from some experience here—the confidence of those English People to which I presume it looks for its support.

AMICUS.

THE POWER OF EDUCATION.

London, August 18, 1851.

SIR,—In continuation of the subject of my last letter, I have to endeavour to make evident what are the errors which have hitherto made the formation of a really wise and good character an impossibility, and that of an erring and inferior character an inevitable result; and what are the principles of demonstrable truth and the new science of education, the consistent application of which to practice will make the attainment of the opposite results an equally natural and inevitable consequence.

Hitherto all education has been conducted under the influence of the following suppositions:—

1. That man is by nature bad, or prone to prefer the wrong or evil to the right or good.
2. That he possesses a "free will," or a will of which he is himself the primary and sole-exciting cause, by which he is able to overrule his natural badness at his pleasure, and to make it his pleasure so to overrule it; and by or in obedience to which he is able to determine, and does determine, the formation of his character, his feelings, his convictions, and his will or decision to act at his pleasure.
3. That, as he possesses this free will or independent power to control the formation of his character and his feelings, convictions, and wills, he has merit and deserves praise and artificial rewards when his character and his feelings, convictions and wills are what his fellow-men regard as good; and has demerit and deserves blame and artificial punishments when they are what his fellow-men regard as bad. (A logical inference from the free-will premises; although it is most illogical to attribute to man demerit or desert of blame and punishment for having a bad nature, which he cannot be supposed to have made by his free will.)
4. That the attributing of merit and demerit, and the employment of praise and blame and of artificial rewards and punishments, are useful and necessary means to influence to the adoption of that which is good in character, feelings, convictions, and will, and to the avoidance of that which is evil. (A supposition logically inconsistent with the idea that character, &c., are produced by the influence of a free and independent will.)

Now a knowledge of facts makes it evident with scientific certainty, that these four suppositions are false; for they are inconsistent with all facts having reference to the nature of man and the formation of his character, &c.;—and that any system of education of which they form the basis, must be a false system, and in a high degree injurious—must effectually prevent the attainment of rationality, wisdom, consistent goodness, and happiness, and must of necessity produce a character of irrationality and inferiority, highly injurious to its possessor and to society.

This knowledge makes it evident:—

1. That man is good by nature, or prone to prefer right or good to wrong or evil; for happiness is good, and it is natural to man, as to all other sentient existences, to desire and pursue happiness. That his past errors have arisen from his having been in ignorance—an ignorance which he did not make, and for which, therefore, he cannot deserve blame, and which he would not have retained so long if he had previously had the power to discover the truth, or if the truth had been made known to him; and from his having adopted, in consequence of this ignorance, false ideas of right and wrong, or of that which is conducive or detrimental to his happiness; by which false ideas he has been led into error and evil continually, and—his natural feelings and desires having consequently been perverted, or injuriously developed, through the false education which these errors have produced—his instinctive preference of

the good or beneficial has been transformed practically into a preference of that which is bad or injurious. Hence has arisen the appearance of his being bad by nature; and hence the continual opposition to each other of duty, inclination, and interest, which will always coincide when man shall be rightly educated and placed.

2. That man does not possess a "free will," but that his character and his feelings, convictions and will, are effects of causes which, when traced back to his earliest existence are found to originate altogether independently of the individual; that there is a natural and invariable law of cause and effect or antecedent and consequence, in obedience to which the compound of qualities, &c., and all the thoughts, feelings, and wills of every individual are produced.

3. That, therefore, man cannot have merit or demerit, or deserve praise or blame or artificial rewards or punishments for his character, feelings, convictions, wills, or acts, however good or bad they may be. Although his qualities, &c., are not the less good or bad on this account, nor will he the less experience their necessary consequences, which are God's natural and inevitable rewards and punishments, and most beneficial means to indicate to him that which is really good or bad, and to lead him to discover and to obtain power over the causes of the good and the bad; nor will it be the less necessary, while the erroneous system which produces the evil, and while the evil which this system has produced, are continued, to employ artificial restraints for the protection of society and the restraint of evil doers, who are the creations and natural punishments of a false system of society.

4. That the attributing of merit and demerit, and the employment of praise and blame, and of artificial rewards and punishments, are not only unjust and inefficient for producing good qualities, feelings, convictions, and wills, but are also in a high degree injurious, or productive of evil in the character, ideas, feelings, wills, and conduct of those who are trained under their influence. And that the only rational and effectual means to remove evil and to attain good in human character, &c., are to remove the causes which produce the evil, and to bring into existence those which will necessarily generate the good;—in other words, to supersede the erroneous and injurious ideas, feelings, practices, and institutions, which have emanated from ignorance of the causes of evil and of good, by the true and beneficial ideas, feelings, practices, and institutions, which are in accordance with a knowledge of those causes.

The error of the supposition that man possesses an independent power over the formation of his character, &c., has long been known to men of acute observation and reasoning powers; but at this point they have lost the clue of truth, and have failed to trace out the endless ramifications of evil which necessarily grow out of this false supposition, and the luxuriant and delightful growth of beneficial results which will emanate from the knowledge of the opposite truth when developed and applied to practice consistently; and they have deviated into erroneous inconsistencies little, if at all, less injurious than the primary error which they had discarded. It was reserved for Mr. Owen to discover the momentous results which flow from the detection of this error, and the true process of the formation of man's character; and his great educational experiment at New Lanark was the practical application of this discovery and demonstration of its truth and importance, and the developing of the new and true science of education.

I will afterwards refer to the mistakes of those who fall into error after having detected the primary truth, that man has not an independent power over the formation of his character, &c.; but, for the assistance of those who have not yet perceived this primary truth, I will first point out shortly the facts by which it is demonstrated; for until this primary truth is perceived, no rational opinion on the subject of education can be formed.

I must, however, to avoid extending this letter to too great a length, defer this explanation for another.

HENRY TRAVIS.

WHAT TO DO WITH THE SURPLUS MONEY OF THE CRYSTAL PALACE.

Barrhead, August 11, 1851.

Sir,—Allow me through the medium of your paper to give publicity to a suggestion on the above subject, which appears to me very useful. The Exposition was got up for the purpose of extending knowledge and taste in relation to the useful and the beautiful, especially among the working-classes, but it has only approximated towards that purpose. Many thousands of able workmen will never see it, and the time for seeing by those who are so fortunate as to get within, will, in most cases, have been so limited as to allow of very partial observation.

The Crystal Palace will soon be away; but, could not the intention of it be very permanently forwarded by the Commissioners employing some of the surplus money in giving a National Book upon the subject? Let the best artists be paid to give engravings, woodcuts, and lithographs of all the most ingenious and

beautiful works, accompanied by letter-press descriptions by able literary men. Let the book be sold to the public, charging for nothing save the paper and printing; it might also be issued in parts, a part on each specifically distinct subject, so that each might also buy the part best suited to throw light on his avocation. Copies could be presented gratuitously to all the Mechanics' Institutions. Such an undertaking would commemorate the Exposition for ages, and bring the shadow of its greatness and grandeur round every fireside. I think it well worth considering.

Yours truly, TIM.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

(From the Registrar-General's Report.)

The weekly return still discovers a high rate of mortality, though some improvement is observed in the last as compared with earlier weeks of this month. The deaths in the week ending July 26, were 956; in August they rose successively to 1010, 1038, and 1061; and they have again declined to 956. In the corresponding week of 1849, when epidemic cholera was raging, the total mortality rose to 2456 deaths, more than half of which were the consequence of its fatal violence; in the same week of 1847, it rose to 1057; but with these exceptions, the number registered last week is higher than in any of the corresponding weeks of 1841-50. Of the 956 persons who died last week, 502 were children under 15 years of age, 262 were 15 years or older but under 60 years, and 184 had reached 60 years or upwards; 290 children, whose deaths are now recorded, had not attained one year of age. The births of 772 boys and 683 girls, in all 1455 children, were registered in the week. The average of six corresponding weeks in 1845-50 was 1281.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

SATURDAY.

Consols have varied considerably this week. On Monday they sunk an eighth, leaving off at 96½. On Tuesday they declined to 96¼; but on Wednesday rose again to 96½ to 1. A large sale on Thursday, however, depressed them to 95½ to 96. No explanation of the cause; but alleged, "among other things," is "distrust at the political state of Europe." Yesterday Consols closed at 95½ to 96.

The fluctuations of the week have been, Consols from 96½ to 95½; Bank Stock, 215 to 216; Exchequer Bills, 46s. to 49s. premium.

Foreign stocks have shown a tendency to decline; and were yesterday down as follows:—The Passive Bonds (Spanish) were called 5 7 16 to 5 9 16; the active debt closing 20½ to 4, and the Three per Cent. Stock, 37½; Two-and-a-Half per Cent. Dutch, 59 to 4; the Four per Cent., 92 to 4; Danish Three per Cent., 77 to 4; Ecuador, 31; Mexican, 28½ to 4; Five per Cent. Peruvian, 91; the Deferred Bonds, 43½; Five per Cent. Russian, 114 to 4; Four-and-a-Half per Cent. do 101½ to 2.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending on Saturday, the 16th of August, 1851.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued	£ 27,623,190	Government Debt, 11,015,100	Other Securities ..	2,984,900
		Gold Coin and Bullion	13,589,815	
		Silver Bullion	33,375	
	£ 27,623,190			£ 27,623,190

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietors' Capital, 14,553,000	£	Government Securities (including Dead-weight Annuity)	13,464,216
Rest	3,288,460	Other Securities ..	12,884,841
Public Deposits (including Exchequer Savings Banks, Commissioners of National Debt, and Dividend Accounts) ..	7,161,085	Notes	7,878,040
Long Ans. 1860 ..	5,967,179	Gold and Silver Coin	604,634
Seven-day and other Bills	1,392,007		
	£ 24,831,731		£ 24,831,731

Dated August 28, 1851. M. MARSHALL, Chief Cashier.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(Closing Prices.)

	Satur.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	215	215½	215½	215½	215½	215½
3 per Cent. Red ..	97½	97	97	97½	97½	96½
3 p. C. Con. Ans. ..	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96
3 p. C. An. 1876 ..	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3 p. C. Con. Ac. ..	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
New 5 per Cent. Long Ans. 1860 ..	7½	7½	7½	7½	7½	7½
Ind. St. 104 p. Ct. ..	57 p	57 p	57 p	53 p	54 p	55 p
Ex. Bills, 1000f. ..	46 p	46 p	46 p	49 p	47 p	48 p
Ditto, 500f.	49 p	46 p	46 p	49 p	48 p	48 p
Ditto, Small	49 p	46 p	46 p	49 p	48 p	48 p

FOREIGN FUNDS.

(Last Official Quotation during the Week ending Friday Evening.)

Austrian 5 per Cents. 81½	Mexican 5 per Ct. Acc. 28½
Belgian Rds. 4½ p. Ct. 94½	Napoleon 5 per Cents. —
Brazilian 5 per Cents. 90½	Peruvian 4½ per Cents. —
Buenos Ayres 6 p. Cts. 20	Portuguese 5 per Cent. —
Chilian 6 per Cents. —	— 4 per Ct. 32½
Danish 5 per Cents. 104½	— Annuities —
Dutch 2½ per Cents. 59½	Russian, 1822, 4½ p. Cts. 102½
— 4 per Cents. 93	Span. Actives, 5 p. Cts. 21
Ecuador Bonds — 3	— Passive — 5½
French 5 p. Cts. An. at Paris 94½	— Deferred — —
— 3 p. Cts., July 11, 96.50	

SHARES.

Last Official Quotation for Week ending Friday Evening.		SHARES.	
RAILWAYS.		BANKS.	
Aberdeen	—	Australasian	—
Bristol and Exeter ..	—	British North American ..	—
Caledonian	10½	Colonial	—
Eastern Counties ..	5	Commercial of London ..	29
Edinburgh and Glasgow ..	—	London and Westminster ..	29
Great Northern	15½	London Joint Stock	16½
Great S. & W. (Ireland) ..	75½	National of Ireland	—
Great Western	—	National Provincial	—
Lancashire and Yorkshire ..	46½	Provincial of Ireland	—
Lancaster and Carlisle ..	—	Union of Australia	35
London, Brighton, & S. Coast ..	—	Union of London	14
London and Blackwall ..	6½		MINES.
London and N.-Western ..	116	Bolton	—
Midland	41½	Brasserie Imperial	—
North British	5	Ditto, St. John del Rey ..	—
South-Eastern and Dover ..	—	Cobre Copper	—
South-Western	80½		MISCELLANEOUS.
York, Newcastle, & Berwick ..	—	Australian Agricultural ..	—
York and North Midland ..	—	Canada	—
		General Steam	—
		Pennine & Oriental Steam ..	9
		Royal Mail Steam	—
		South Australian	—

CORN EXCHANGE.

MARK-LANE, August 29.—Our supplies this week are small. Weather cold and rainy. Country market rather firmer. Wheat quiet at former rates. Oats firm, and 6d. dearer than last week; Barley, Peas, and Beans unaltered.

Arrivals from August 25 to August 29.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	2330	—	—
Barley	20	—	19,40
Oats	60	—	76,20
Flour	610	—	—
Sacks, 700; Barrels, 6980.			

GRAIN, Mark-lane, Aug. 29.

Wheat, R. New 36s. to 38s.	Maple	39s. to 30s.
Fine	White	34 to 25
Old	Boilers	36 to 28
White	Beans, Ticks ..	36 to 27
Fine	Old	36 to 28
Superior New 42 to 46	Indian Corn ..	37 to 28
Rye	Oats, Feed	17 to 18
Barley	Fine	18 to 19
Malt	Poland	31 to 32
Malt, Ord.	Fine	31 to 32
Fine	Potato	19 to 20
Peas, Hog	Fine	20 to 21

FLOUR.

Town-made	per sack 39s. to 42s.
Seconds	37 to 39
Essex and Suffolk, on board ship	34 to 37
Norfolk and Stockton	31 to 33
American	30 to 34
Canadian	29 to 34
Wheaten Bread, 7d. the 4lb. loaf. Households, 6d.	

GENERAL AVERAGE PRICE OF GRAIN.

WEEK ENDING AUG. 23.

Imperial General Weekly Average.		Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks.	
Wheat	39s. 10d.	Rye	27s. 1d.
Barley	26 8	Beans	31 4
Oats	20 11	Peas	25 11
Wheat	41s. 8d.	Rye	27s. 2d.
Barley	26 0	Beans	31 4
Oats	21 10	Peas	27 9

AVERAGE PRICE OF SUGAR.

The average price of Brown or Muscovado Sugar, computed from the returns made in the week ending the 26th day of August, 1851, is 24s. 4½d. per cwt

BUTCHERS' MEAT.

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL.*		SMITHFIELD.*	
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Beef	2 4 to 3 6	2 2 to 3 6	
Mutton	2 8 to 3 6	2 4 to 4 0	
Lamb	3 4 to 4 4	4 0 to 4 8	
Veal	2 4 to 3 8	2 4 to 3 8	
Pork	2 8 to 4 0	3 6 to 3 10	

* To sink the offal, per 8 lb.

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

	Friday.	Monday.
Beasts	290	468
Sheep	12,050	31,560
Cattle	594	383
Pigs	410	395

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Tuesday, August 26.

BANKRUPT.—W. WOODS, trading under the style or firm of Wm. Woods and Co., Gresham-rooms, Basinghall-street, warehouseman, to surrender Sept. 3, (Oct. 8; solicitor, Mr. Sawbridge, Wood-street, Cheapside; official assignee, Mr. Stanfield—T. WALLIS, the younger, and S. WALLIS, lords, linendrapers, Sept. 5, Oct. 9; solicitor, Mr. Jones, size-lane, Bucklersbury; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—C. C. GEARY, Colchester, cheesemonger and grocer, Sept. 5, Oct. 9; solicitors, Messrs. Langham and Langham, Bartlett's-buildings, Holborn; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—J. E. NORTON, Crescent, Asylum-road, Old Kent-road, wine merchant, Sept. 5, Oct. 9; solicitors, Messrs. Lawrence, Pears, and Boyer, Old Jewry-chambers; official assignee, Mr. Cannan, Birchin-lane, Cornhill—J. WILDS, Ordsall-lane (and not Ardsall-lane, as before advertised), Selfrid, builder, Sept. 5 and 9; solicitor, Mr. Dearden, Pall-mall, Manchester; official assignee, Mr. Fraser, George-street, Manchester.

Friday, August 29.

BANKRUPT.—O. BOWEN and A. GIBSON, Lower Mitham, Surrey, calico printers, to surrender September 13, October 11; solicitors, Messrs. Linklater and Linklater, Charlotte-row, Mansion-house; official assignee, Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—J. GRAHAM, Noble-street, warehouseman, September 6, October 11; solicitors, Messrs. Linklater and Linklater, Charlotte-row, Mansion-house; official assignee, Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—T. WAKEFIELD, Cadogan-place and Halkin-terrace, Chelsea, silk mercer, September 6, October 11; solicitor, Mr. James Basinghall-street—J. S. TURNER, Woolwich, Kent, surgeon, September 5, October 9; solicitor, Mr. Cartier, Greenwich; official assignee, Mr. Cannan, Birchin-lane, Cornhill—A. P.

FAY, Mill-end-road, chemist, Sept. 4, Oct. 10; solicitors, Messrs. Jones and Sons, Brick-lane-square; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Baring-lane-st.-H. PHILLIPS, Milton-street, and Wood-street, Cheapside, wholesale manufacturers, Sept. 5, Oct. 9; solicitor, Mr. Sawbridge, Wood-street, Cheapside; official assignee, Mr. Cannan, Birch-lane, Cornhill—C. BAYLIFFE, Chippendale, Wilshire, surgeon, Sept. 11, Oct. 7; solicitors, Messrs. Golding and Fellows, Chippendale; official assignee, Mr. Miller, Bristol—J. THOMAS, Shrewbury, grocer, Sept. 9 and 30; solicitors, Messrs. Mottram, Knight, and Emmet, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Christie, Birmingham.

HER MAJESTY'S THEATRE.—Play-house Price Nights.—In consequence of the numerous parties unable to obtain places, arrangements have been made, and **FOUR MORE FAREWELL NIGHTS** will be given—on Wednesday, September 3; Thursday, September 4; Friday, September 5; and Saturday, September 6—combining the talent of all the artists of Her Majesty's Theatre. Full particulars will be announced forthwith.

GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY.—CHEAP EXCURSION TRAINS TO OXFORD, BATH, BRISTOL, and CLIFTON.—A Train will leave Paddington on Saturday evening, the 6th of September, at Six o'clock for Oxford, returning from thence on Monday morning, the 8th of September, at half-past Eight o'clock.

Fares there and back—First Class, 6s.; Closed Carriages, 2s. 6d. No luggage allowed exceeding carpet bag and hat. On Sunday, the 7th of September, a Train will leave Paddington at a Quarter before Eight o'clock in the morning, for Bath and Bristol, returning the same evening from Bristol at 6.30, and Bath at Seven o'clock.

Fares, to Bath and back—First Class, 9s.; Closed Carriages, 5s.; ditto to Bristol and back—First Class, 10s.; Closed Carriages, 6s. Tickets for the last-mentioned Train may be obtained previously at the Paddington Station; 27, King street, Cheapside, and 449, West Strand. Passengers having luggage will only be conveyed at the ordinary fares.

NEW JERUSALEM CHURCH.—At a PUBLIC MEETING of the Members of this Church held at Freemasons' Hall, on Tuesday, August 19, 1851, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

1. That while the success which has attended the endeavour to unite all nations in a friendly competition in the industrial arts should be regarded with sincere satisfaction, it is highly desirable that men should be able to meet on the higher ground of genuine Christianity, and unite in promoting "peace on earth, and goodwill towards men."

2. That the chief obstacle to this great consummation arises from faith having been exalted above love or charity, and made the test of Christian fellowship, in consequence of which the Church has been divided into numerous conflicting sects; and that the principles of the New Church, in which charity has the supremacy, are alone capable of uniting mankind in the bond of Christian brotherhood, and making the Church truly catholic and universal.

3. That this can be effected by the New Church, because it is not a new sect, but a new dispensation, predicted in the Revelation under the figure of the Holy City, New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of Heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.

4. That in the New Church the doctrines of Christianity are restored to their primitive purity, and that these doctrines, summarily, are as follows:—

1. That God is one in essence and in person, in whom is a trinity of essentials, like soul, body, and operation in man; and that this God is the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who is Jehovah in a glorified human form.

2. That salvation from the Lord is effected by the union of charity, faith, and good works; charity to renew the heart, faith to enlighten the understanding, and good works to embody these principles in a life of usefulness to man, and glory to God.

3. That immediately on the death of the body man enters the eternal world, and is judged according to his works—to Heaven if he has done good, to Hell if he has done evil.

4. That the Scriptures are the only fountain of truth, and the ultimate authority in matters of faith.

5. That one of the distinguishing features of the new dispensation is the opening of the spiritual sense of the Holy Word, by which is manifested the second coming of the Lord; that this opening is effected by a restored knowledge of the science of correspondences, or the mutual relation, established at creation between things spiritual and things natural, according to which the Scriptures are written, and by which the word and the works of God are in such intimate connection and perfect harmony with each other that true science and true theology must ever go hand in hand.

6. That since the period of the second advent of the Lord and the commencement of the New Church, effects so extraordinary as to be indicative of a new era, have been observable in the natural world, in the progress of civil liberty, the diffusion of knowledge, and the advancement of science, which, while they are effects from a spiritual cause, are the precursors of moral and spiritual improvement.

7. That, in accordance with Divine order, the Lord, who effects his purposes by human instrumentality, has effected the commencement of his New Church by the instrumentality of a man whose mind he enlightened to understand and teach the true Christian doctrines and the internal sense of the word, and whose spiritual sight he opened to see, that he might declare the state of the blessed in Heaven, and of the miserable in Hell; that, therefore, the Members of the New Church earnestly recommend the theological writings of this eminent servant of the Lord, Emanuel Swedenborg, to the attention of men of all creeds, as containing the most momentous disclosures respecting the eternal world and state, and the most exalted views of Divine truth, and as being at once rational, philosophical, and scriptural.

J. H. SMITHSON, Chairman.

THE BEST WELLINGTON BOOTS made to order, 21s. per pair.

HENRY LATIMER, 29, Bishopsgate-street Without, respectfully requests the attention of the Public to the above very important announcement.

His Wellington Boots made to order at 21s. cannot be surpassed either in shape, make, or quality.

COCOA is a nut which, besides farinaceous substance, contains a bland oil. The oil in this nut has one advantage, which is, that it is less liable than any other oil to rancidity. Possessing these two nutritive substances, Cocoa becomes a most valuable article of diet, more particularly if, by mechanical or other means, the farinaceous substance can be so perfectly incorporated with the oil, that the one will prevent the other from separating. Such a union is presented in the Cocoa prepared by JAMES EPPS; and thus, while the delightful flavour, in part dependent upon the oil, is retained, the whole preparation will agree with the most delicate stomach.

JAMES EPPS, Homoeopathic Chemist, 112, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, and 84, Old Broad-street, City, London.

AMUSEMENT AND INSTRUCTION.

The public are admitted, without charge, to the British Museum, National Gallery, East India Company's Museum, London Missionary Society's Museum, and to the Splendid Exhibition of Art and Industry, on view from 11 in the morning till 8 at night, at Benefitt and Company's Emporium for Furnishing Ironmongery, 89 and 90, Cheapside, London. The splendid stock comprises every variety of Electro-plated Wares, Chandeliers, Lamps, Tea-urns, Tea-trays, Cutlery, Iron Bedsteads, Baths, Stoves, Fire-irons; in short, every requisite either for the Mansion or the Cottage.

At this establishment you cannot be deceived, because every article is marked in plain figures, and at such prices as can be offered only by a house whose gross sales are so enormous as to enable them to sell the best articles at 10 or 15 per cent. less than any other house in the kingdom. That we can furnish a mansion, is demonstrated by the continued patronage of the nobility and gentry; and to prove that we can also suit the necessary and judicious economy of those moving in a more humble sphere, we are enabled actually to furnish an eight-roomed house for £5, and the articles, too, of the best quality and workmanship. This may appear incredible; but as we are the largest buyers of iron goods, to say nothing of those of our own manufacture, in London, we can do it, and subjoin a list of the requisites:—

1 Hall-lamp	.. .. .	0 10 6
1 Umbrella-stand	.. .. .	0 4 6
1 Bronzed Dining-room Fender and Standards	.. .. .	0 5 6
1 Set of Polished Steel Fire-irons	.. .. .	0 3 6
1 Brass Toast-stand	.. .. .	0 1 6
1 Fire-guard	.. .. .	0 1 6
1 Bronzed and Polished Steel Scroll Fender	.. .. .	0 8 6
1 Set Polished Steel Fire-irons, Bright Fan	.. .. .	0 5 6
1 Ornamented Japanned Scuttle and Scoop	.. .. .	0 4 6
1 Best Bed-room Fender and Polished Steel Fire-irons	.. .. .	0 7 0
2 Bed-room Fenders, and 2 Sets of Fire-irons	.. .. .	0 7 6
Set of Four Block-tin Dish Covers	.. .. .	0 11 6
1 Bread-grater, 6d. Tin Candlestick, 9d.	.. .. .	0 1 3
1 Teakettle, 2s. 6d., 1 Gridiron, 1s.	.. .. .	0 3 6
1 Frying-pan, 1s., 1 Meat-chopper, 1s. 6d.	.. .. .	0 2 6
1 Coffee-pot, 1s., 1 Colander, 1s.	.. .. .	0 2 0
1 Dust-pan, 6d., 1 Fish-kettle, 4s.	.. .. .	0 4 6
1 Fish-slice, 6d., 1 Flour-box, 8d.	.. .. .	0 1 2
1 Pepper-box	.. .. .	0 0 4
3 Tinned Iron Saucepans	.. .. .	0 5 0
1 Oval Boiling-pot, 3s. 8d., 1 Set of Skewers, 4d.	.. .. .	0 4 0
3 Spoons, 9d., Tea-pot and Tray, 3s.	.. .. .	0 3 9
Toasting-fork	.. .. .	0 0 6
		£5 0 0

NOTE.—Any one or more of the articles may be selected at the above prices. And all orders for £5 and upwards will be forwarded free to any part of the kingdom. Note, therefore, the address, BENEFITT and Co., 89 and 90, Cheapside, London; and if you are about to furnish, and want to buy economically and tastefully visit this establishment.

CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE AGENCY, INSTITUTED UNDER TRUST, TO COUNTERACT THE SYSTEM OF ADULTERATION AND FRAUD NOW PREVAILING IN THE TRADE, AND TO PROMOTE THE PRINCIPLE OF CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.

Trustees—Edward Vansittart Neale, Esq. (Founder of the Institution); and Thomas Hughes, Esq. (one of the Contributors). Commercial Firm—Leechevalier, Woodin, Jones, and Co. Central Establishment—75, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-sq. London. Branch Establishments—35, Great Marylebone-street, Portland-place, London; and 13, Swan-street, Manchester. The Agency is instituted for a period of 100 years.

Its objects are to counteract the system of adulteration and fraud now prevailing in the trade; to deal as agents for the consumers in purchasing the articles for their consumption, and for the producers in selling their produce; to promote the progress of the principle of Association; to find employment for cooperative associations by the collection of orders to be executed under special guarantee to the customers.

A commercial firm, acting under the permanent control of trustees, has been found the safer and more acceptable mode of carrying out these objects according to the Agency consists, therefore, of trustees, contributors, subscribers, and a commercial partnership.

The capital required for the wholesale and retail business having been supplied by the founder and the first contributors, no express call is made at present, either for contributions or subscriptions. The capital will be further increased after the public have been made acquainted with the objects of the institution, and have experienced its mode of dealing.

Customers, after three months' regular dealing, are entitled to a bonus, to be fixed according to the amount of their transactions by the council of the agency, consisting of the trustees and partners.

After payment of all expenses, salaries, profits, and bonuses returned to contributors, subscribers, and regular customers, the general profits are to be accumulated, part to form a reserve fund, and part to promote cooperative associations.

Business transacted wholesale and retail. Subscribers, Cooperative Stores, Working Men's Associations, Regular Customers, and the Public supplied.

The Agency intend hereafter to undertake the execution of all orders for any kind of articles or produce; their operations for the present are restricted to GROCERIES, WINES, and ITALIAN ARTICLES, as a specimen of what can be done with the support of cooperative customers.

Rules have been framed and printed to enable any number of families of all classes, in any district of London, or any part of the country, to form themselves into "Friendly Societies" for enjoying the benefit of Cooperative Stores. To be sent by post to parties forwarding four stamps.

Particulars of the nature and objects of the Central Cooperative Agency, with a Digest of the Head of Settlement, are to be found in the printed report of a meeting held at the Central Office of the Agency. To be sent by post to parties forwarding four stamps.

A list of articles with the wholesale prices for Cooperative Stores, and a detailed Catalogue for private customers, will also be sent by post on payment of one postage stamp for the Wholesale List, and two for the Catalogue.

Particulars, Rules, List, and Catalogue will be forwarded immediately on receipt of ten postage stamps.

All communications to be addressed to MM. Lechevalier, Woodin, Jones, and Co., at the Central-office, 75, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

ORDERS FOR THE ASSOCIATIONS OF WORKING MEN ALREADY IN EXISTENCE—BUILDERS, PRINTERS, BAKERS, TAILORS, SHOEMAKERS, NEEDLEWOMEN—CAN BE SENT THROUGH THE AGENCY, AND WILL RECEIVE IMMEDIATE ATTENTION.

STEAM TO INDIA, CHINA, &c.

Particulars of the regular Monthly Mail Steam Conveyance and of the Peninsular and Oriental Navigation Company, now established by the Peninsular and Oriental Navigation Company with the East, &c. The Company book passengers and receive goods and parcels as heretofore for CEYLON, MADRAS, CALCUTTA, PENANG, SINGAPORE, and HONG KONG, by their steamers, starting from SOUTHAMPTON on the 30th of every month, and from SUZEE on or about the 10th of the month.

One of the Company's first-class steamers will, however, be despatched from Southampton for Alexandria, as an extra ship, on the 3rd of September and 3rd of November next, and of alternate months thereafter, in combination with extra steamers, to leave Calcutta on or about the 20th of August and 20th of October. Passengers may be booked, and goods and parcels forwarded by these extra steamers to or from SOUTHAMPTON, ALEXANDRIA, ADEN, CEYLON, MADRAS, and CALCUTTA.

BOMBAY.—The Company will also despatch from Bombay, about the 1st of September next, and of every alternate month thereafter, a first-class steam-ship for Aden, to meet there the extra ship between Calcutta and Suzy; and at Alexandria one of the Company's steam-ships will receive the passengers, parcels, and goods, and convey them to Southampton, calling at Malta and Gibraltar.

But passengers, parcels, and goods for BOMBAY and WESTERN INDIA will be conveyed throughout from Southampton in the mail steamers, leaving Southampton on the 20th of October, and of alternate months thereafter, and the corresponding vessels from Suzy to Aden, at which latter port a steam-ship of the Company will be in waiting to embark and convey them to Bombay.

Passengers for Bombay can also proceed by this Company's steamers of the 29th of the month to Malta, thence to Alexandria by her Majesty's steamers, and from Suzy by the Honourable East India Company's steamers.

MEDITERRANEAN.—MALTA.—On the 20th and 29th of every month, Constantinople.—On the 29th of the month, Alexandria.—On the 20th of the month, Malta.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.—Vigo, Oporto, Lisbon, Cadix, and Gibraltar, on the 7th, 17th, and 27th of the month.

N.B. Steam-ships of the Company now ply direct between Calcutta, Penang, Singapore, and Hong Kong, and between Hong Kong and Shanghai.

For further information and tariff of the Company's recently revised and reduced rates of passage-money and freight, and for plans of the vessels, and to secure passages, &c., apply at the Company's Offices, 122, Leadenhall-street, London, and Oriental-place, Southampton.

NERVOUSNESS, and all its attendant miseries

And distressing symptoms, positively CURED, without the least inconvenience or danger to the most delicate constitution, by a new and infallible remedy; guaranteed to effect a perfect cure in the most inveterate case; even in cases of complete prostration of nervous energy its success is certain. DR. ALFRED BRACMONT, M.D., M.E.C.S., and Consulting Physician, having long used it in his private practice without a single instance of failure, begs to offer it to the Public, from benevolence rather than gain; and will send it carriage free, with full directions, upon receipt of 7s. 6d. in postage stamps, addressed to him at 6, Beaufort-street, Strand, London.

DEAFNESS—SINGING IN THE EARS.

Extraordinary Cures are effected daily, in cases long since pronounced incurable by the Faculty. Even in cases of total deafness, which have existed a lifetime, a positive cure can be guaranteed without pain or operation, by a newly discovered, and infallible mode of treating the disease, and practised only by DR. FRANCIS, Physician, Aurist, 40, Liverpool-street, King's Cross, London. Dr. F. has applied this new treatment in the presence of and on several of the most eminent medical men of the day, who have been utterly astonished at its magical effect. All martyrs to these distressing complaints should immediately consult Dr. Francis, as none need now despair, however bad the case. Hours of consultation daily from Eleven till Four, and Six till Nine. Country patients, stating their case by letter, will receive the means of cure per post, with such advice and directions as are guaranteed to render failure impossible.

DR. CULVERWELL ON NERVOUSNESS, DEBILITY, AND INDIGESTION; also on Urinary Derangements, Constipation, and Hemorrhoids. 1s. each; by post, 1s. 6d.

WHAT TO EAT, DRINK, AND AVOID.

"Abstinentia multi curantur morbi." A popular exposition of the principal causes (over and careless feeding, &c.) of the above harassing and distressing complaints, with an equally intelligible and popular exposition of how we should live to get rid of them; to which is added diet tables for every meal in the day, and full instructions for the regimen and observance of every hour out of the twenty-four: illustrated by numerous cases, &c.

Vols. 2 and 3, companions to the preceding.

THE ENJOYMENT OF LIFE. 1. HOW TO BE HAPPY.

"Jocunde Vivere." ON URINARY DISORDERS, CONSTIPATION, and HEMORRHOIDS; their Obviation and Removal. Sherwood, 23, Paternoster-row; Mann, 39, Cornhill; and the Author, 10, Argyl-place, Regent-street; consultation hours, ten to twelve; evenings, seven till nine.

RUPTURES EFFECTUALLY AND PERMANENTLY CURED WITHOUT A TRUSS.

DR. GUTHREY still continues to supply the afflicted with his celebrated remedy for this alarming complaint, which has never failed in effecting a perfect cure. It is applicable to every variety of Single and Double Rupture, in male or female of any age, however bad or long standing; is easy and painless in application, causing no inconvenience or confinement, &c.; and will be sent, free by post, to any part of the kingdom, with full instructions, rendering failure impossible, on receipt of seven Shillings in postage stamps; or by post-office order, payable at the Gray's Inn-road Office.

ADDRESS.—Henry Guthrey, M.D., 6, Ampton-street, Gray's Inn-road, London. At home, for consultation daily, from Eleven till one, mornings, and Five till Seven, evenings, Sundays excepted.

A great number of old trusses and testimonials have been left behind by persons cured, as trophies of the success of his remedy, which may be seen by any sufferer.

DEAFNESS, NOISES IN THE HEAD, EARS, &c.

Dr. Guthrey's remedy for deafness, &c., permanently restores hearing, enabling the patient in a few days to hear the ticking of a watch, even in cases where the deafness has existed for many years from any cause whatever, and has been successful in all cases where medical and surgical assistance have failed in giving relief. It removes all those distressing noises in the head and ears, and by its occasional use will prevent deafness occurring again at any future period.

The remedy, which is simple in application, will be sent free by post, with full instructions, on receipt of Seven Shillings in postage stamps, or by post-office order, payable at the Gray's Inn-road Office, addressed to Dr. Guthrey, 6, Ampton-street, Gray's Inn-road, London, where he may be consulted daily from Eleven till One, and Five till Seven, Sundays excepted.

CURES FOR THE UNCURED!

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT.—An extraordinary Cure of SCROFULA or KING'S EVIL. Extract of a Letter from Mr. J. H. ALLDAY, 309, High-street, Cheltenham, dated the 22nd of January, 1850.

To Professor HOLLOWAY.
"SIR,—My eldest son, when about three years of age, was afflicted with a Glandular Swelling in the neck, and after a short time, broke out into a Ulcer. An eminent medical man pronounced it as a very bad case of Scrofula, and prescribed for a considerable time without effect. The disease then for four years went on gradually increasing in virulence, when, besides the ulcer in the neck, another formed below the left knee, and a third under the eye, besides seven others on the left arm, with a tumour between the eyes, which was expected to break. During the whole of the time my suffering boy had received the constant advice of the most celebrated medical Gentlemen at Cheltenham, besides being for several months at the General Hospital, where one of the Surgeons said that he would amputate the left arm, but that the blood was so impure that, if that limb were taken off, it would be then even impossible to subdue the disease. In this desperate state I determined to give your Pills and Ointment a trial, and after two months' perseverance in their use, the tumour gradually began to disappear, and the discharge from all the ulcers perceptibly decreased, and at the expiration of eight months they were perfectly healed, and the boy thoroughly restored to the blessings of health, to the astonishment of a large circle of acquaintances, who could testify to the truth of this miraculous cure. Three years have now elapsed without any recurrence to the malady, and the boy is now as healthy as heart can wish. Under these circumstances I consider that I should be truly ungrateful were I not to make you acquainted with this wonderful cure, effected by your medicines, after every other means had failed. J. H. ALLDAY."

Sold by the Proprietor, 244, Strand (near Temple Bar), London, and by all respectable Vendors of Patent Medicines throughout the Civilized World, in Pots and Boxes, at 1s. 1d., 3s. 9d., 4s. 6d., 12s., 25s., and 50s. There is a very considerable saving in taking the larger sizes.

N.B.—Directions for the guidance of Patients are affixed to each pot or box.

A NEW MEDICINE.

FRANKS'S SPECIFIC CAPSULE.—A form of Medicine at once safe, sure, speedy, and pleasant, especially applicable to urethral morbid secretions, and other ailments for which copaiba and cubeba are commonly administered. Each Capsule containing the Specific is made of the purest Gelatine, which, encased in tinfoil, may be conveniently carried in the pocket, and, being both elastic and pleasant to take, affords the greatest facility for repeating the doses without intermission—a desideratum to persons travelling, visiting, or engaged in business, as well as to those who object to fluid medicines, being unobjectionable to the most susceptible stomach.

Prepared only by GEORGE FRANKS, Surgeon, at his Laboratory, 90, Blackfriars-road, London, where they may be had, and of all Medicine Vendors, in boxes, at 2s. 9d. and 4s. 6d. each, or sent free by post at 3s. and 5s. each. Of whom, also, may be had, in bottles, at 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., and 11s. each.

FRANKS'S SPECIFIC SOLUTION OF COPAIBA.

TESTIMONIALS.
From Joseph Henry Green, Esq., F.R.S., President of the Royal College of Surgeons, London; Senior Surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital; and Professor of Surgery in King's College, London.
"I have made trial of Mr. Franks's Solution of Copaiba, at St. Thomas's Hospital, in a variety of cases, and the results warrant my stating, that it is an efficacious remedy, and one which does not produce the usual unpleasant effects of Copaiba. (Signed) JOSEPH HENRY GREEN.

"Lincoln's Inn Fields, April 15, 1835."
From Bransby Cooper, Esq., F.R.S., one of the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons, London; Senior Surgeon to Guy's Hospital; and Lecturer of Anatomy, &c.
"Mr. Bransby Cooper presents his compliments to Mr. George Franks, and has great pleasure in bearing testimony to the efficacy of his Solution of Copaiba. Mr. Cooper has prescribed the Solution in ten or twelve cases with perfect success."

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